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An iconographic study of the Virgin as intercessor, mediator and purveyor of mercy in western understanding from the twelfth to the fifteenth century.

AN ICONOGRAPHIC STUDY OF THE VIRGIN AS INTERCESSOR, MEDIATOR AND PURVEYOR OF MERCY IN WESTERN UNDERSTANDING FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

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ABSTRACT

This study examines and contextualises Marian intercessory iconography and, where the concept is expressed visually, motifs which convey her role as mediator. It sets out to distinguish between those images employed to express a metaphoric idea and those which illustrate a narrative, and to assess the contrasting significance of similar images used in these different contexts. A question which arises from the study of Marian intercession is the extent to which the Virgin was understood by contemporaries to be the purveyor of divine mercy. This question underlies the study throughout.

The Virgin's power as an intercessor is linked with her divine maternity, expressed in the image of the Virgin and Child, an iconographic type which bonds mother and child. As intercessor she is, by contrast, in a relationship of dialogue with her Son. The visual expression of this independence, the iconography of intercession, includes references to the Incarnation and the Passion in order to convey that the Virgin's intercessory role is underpinned by her divine maternity. Iconographic devices which reflect the workings of the mother in those of her Son and vice-versa serve to demonstrate that divine mercy springs from the relationship between the Virgin and Christ rather than from either individual.

Dialogue characterises intercessory imagery, whilst intervention characterises the iconography of the Virgin of Mercy and the Virgin interfering with the scales of justice. Here the Virgin, as the representative of the merciful aspect of the divine, qualifies the process of justice by her actions. Whilst this iconography emerges in the late middle ages, featuring the Virgin as the agent of intervention, it derives from ancient metaphors which express the mechanism of the 'merciful contract', or, in other words, the interdependent relationship between divine mercy and justice.

The iconography of the Virgin as a figure who is triumphant over evil represents the victory of the Incarnation over the curse of Original Sin. In a specifically intercessory context, the emphasis in this iconography is the Virgin's bringing a soul within the pale of divine mercy by freeing it from the enthralment of evil. Sometimes divine mercy was expressed allegorically, but here too it is demonstrated that there is an overlap between the iconography of *Misericordia* and that of the Virgin. Image-makers conveyed the Virgin as an integral part of the salvational scheme and, as such, a potent symbol of God's mercy. She was not an independent figure but one who operated as intercessor and purveyor of mercy in the unique context of her role as Mother of God.

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This study of Marian devotion is lovingly dedicated to the memory of my father, John Geoffrey Oakes.

C.M.O.

The work contained in this thesis is entirely my own. The views therein expressed are my own and not those of the University of Bristol.

Catherine Lacey

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ABBREVIATIONS

AH	*Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, eds., Guido Maria Dreves & Clemens Blume with Henry M. Bannister, 55 vols. (Leipzig: Fues, etc., 1886-1922: repr. 1961)
Algermissen	*Lexicon der Marienkunde*, ed. K. Algermissen *et al.*,(Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet,1957-)
BL	London, British Library
BM	London, British Museum
BN	Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale
Bod.	Oxford, Bodleian Library
CC	*Corpus Christianorum* (Turnhout: Brepols)
CCM	*Cahiers de Civilization Medievale* (Poitiers: Universite de Poitiers, Centre d'Etudes Superieure de Civilization Medievale, 1958-)
CETEDOC	CD ROM, Library of Latin Christian Texts 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996)
CVMA	Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi
EETS	*Early English Text Society* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.)
Graef	H. Graef, *Mary: A history of doctrine and*

	devotion, 2 vols (London: Sheed & Ward, 1963, 1965; repr. in 1 vol., 1985)
JBAA	*Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (London: British Archaeological Association)
JWCI	*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (London: Warburg Institute, 1939-)
O'Carroll	M. O'Carroll, *Theotokos: A Theological Encyclopaedia of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, revised edition (Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1983)
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus: series graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne,162 vols. (Paris: Migne, etc., 1857-1866).
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus: series latina*, ed. J,-P. Migne,221 vols. (Paris: Migne, etc., 1841-1864).
Ps(s)	Psalm(s)
Réau	L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, 3 vols (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955-1959)
Schiller	G. Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, 5 vols (Gutersloh:Gutersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1966-1991), engl. trans. J. Seligman, vols 1&2 (London: Lund Humphries, 1971 & 1972)

SMIBI	*Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles* (London: Harvey Miller, 1975-1990)
VAM	London, Victoria and Albert Museum
Zodiaque	La Nuit des Temps (La Pierre-qui-Vire: Zodiaque)

Nam etsi difficile sit intelligere, quomodo misericordia tua non absit a tua iustitia, necessarium tamen est credere, quia nequaquam adversatur iustitiae quod exundat ex bonitate, quae nulla est sine iustitia, immo vere concordat iustitiae. Nempe si misericors es quia es summe bonus, et summe bonus non es nisi quia es summe iustus: vere idcirco es misericors quia summe iustus es. Adiuva me, iuste et misericors deus, cuius lucem quaero, adiuva me, ut intelligam quod dico.

Anselm, *Proslogion*, chapter nine

INTRODUCTION

In the fifteenth century a wooden figure of the Virgin stood in Durham Cathedral, known as "Our Lady of Boulton". There were doors at the front which opened, revealing God holding a golden crucifix in his hands. Every Good Friday, the cross was taken out "and every man did crepe into it that was in the church that day".(1)

This figure was a full-size example of a type of image, known as a *vierge-ouvrante*, which was relatively widely produced in the late middle ages. Contained within the Virgin's body was the means of Redemption. Through the Incarnation it was realised. A similar teaching was made visually, though perhaps less dramatically than the Durham example, in small statuettes of the Virgin and Child which were containers for the consecrated host.(2) (fig.1) Durandus, in his late-thirteenth-century *Rationale*, which includes a description of the symbolism of liturgical objects at this period, calls the reliquary which contains the host, the body of Mary.(3)

The role of the Virgin in the Incarnation is fundamental to the understanding of her importance as intercessor and mediator. In this iconographic study, visual references to the Incarnation are a constant theme in images representing her as intercessor and mediator. As the Mother of Christ, through whom divine mercy was

made manifest, she is intimately bonded with the merciful attribute of the Godhead. How this was visually demonstrated will also be explored in the following pages.

This is an iconographic study. The argument begins with the image. This type of study presents various problems of methodology connected with interpretation. The image, even when set in its historical context, is more ambiguous than the word. It is not usually set within the framework of an argument, and, if it is part of a narrative, that narrative may not be treated sequentially which is the convention with the written word. A visual narrative may travel up a column, round a capital, up and down an ivory diptych beginning bottom right, or in spiral fashion as on Bernward of Hildesheim's bronze column or in Giotto's Arena chapel. Images may comment upon each other and be juxtaposed or opposed or superposed accordingly.

Generally speaking, medieval iconography until the fifteenth century in Northern Europe disregards the unities of time and space. Whilst this frees the image to be exploited much more fully than otherwise, the lack of any rules at all to guide the modern intepreter only increases the number of potential pitfalls. A non-Marian example of the imaginative use of imagery when it is not subject to the unities, to make what would be a verbally lengthy point in a visually concise one, is the late

medieval image of the suffering, wounded Christ surrounded by artisans' tools or by blasphemers. Here, references are made to a unique event in history - the Passion, and to an ongoing event through time - the fruits of Redemption.(4) Clearly the artist is not bound by the rules of unified time and space. However, were it not for the existence of contemporary *exempla* explaining the meaning of this image, interpretation would be difficult for a modern observer.(5)

The extreme fragmentary nature of medieval art also clouds the picture. The passage of time apart, the most significant impact in terms of destruction on the type of imagery considered in the following chapters was caused by iconoclasm. This was a feature of the political situation in various parts of northern Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and again in France after the Revolution.(6) This left not only an impoverished legacy of medieval art, but an unbalanced one with regard to its original distribution geographically and with regard to type of object. A large free-standing flammable object like the wooden Virgin from Durham Cathedral, for example, is more vulnerable to iconoclasts, and as it happens to the vicissitudes of devotional fashion and the ravages of time, than a small enamelled reliquary not worth the trouble of melting down.

Most surviving artefacts do not survive then in

their original contexts, do not maintain their original function, and are damaged or bereft of their original decoration. As a result, an examination of the image alone may result in a misleading interpretation. An example of a surviving fragment conveying an impression significantly different to the one given when it was seen in its original context is a typical late medieval English doom-board or painting, created for a parochial setting. In origin such an image provided a back-drop to a rood depicted in front of it. The Last Judgement was therefore surveyed, mediated by the image of the cross. All such schemes have been destroyed since the Reformation leaving the comparatively grim image of the Doom in isolation.(fig 2)(7)

The way forward in overcoming the inherent problems of iconographic analysis is first to acknowledge them. Secondly to attempt to re-contextualise the image through tracing its origins, its links with the sphere of verbal communication and its contemporary setting theologically, devotionally, and sometimes, where appropriate, the wider social setting. Developments in the legal or commercial world may well be relevant on occasions.(8)

Religious imagery in the Middle Ages was rarely simply decorative or illustrative. Examples considered in the following chapters may have been intended as didactic or devotional. They may synergetically relate to a text, producing a new meaning by complementing,

amplifying, qualifying or commenting upon the written word. The image may actively inter-relate with the viewer like the Durham Virgin.(9) The stimulating challenge of moving closer to a rediscovery of the significance of such material clearly lies in the task of recreating a context and, where possible, making a comparison with similar surviving examples.

Sometimes medieval writers themselves pass remarks which indicate the role and function of iconography for them. Gregory the Great's oft-quoted comment that pictures were made to provide instruction for the illiterate gives scant credit to the rich diversity with which the medieval image was exploited.(10) The twelfth-century monk, Ralph of Canterbury, wrote in a sermon:

Scriptura sacra res una et eadem mutoties invenitur diversa significare, sicut leo, haedus, ignis, aqua, vel etiam sol, et alia multa.(11)

He is writing about signs and signifiers which may be communicated by word or picture, but he makes the point that no single meaning is attached to any one sign. This is part of the sport of medieval exegesis in which many meanings may be derived from one phrase or image. The rules required that four at least was the desired number. (12) Iconography employed in or inspired by this context might well be expected to abide by similar rules.

Conversely no meaning, as such, may be attached to imagery. It may simply serve to stimulate contemplation.

Gregory the Great in another passage wrote that images served the onlooker to imagine what was invisible.(13) When Rupert of Deutz drafted his commentary on the Song of Songs, he did it whilst contemplating the face of the Virgin.(14) Was the picture already in his imagination, or did it also exist materially? Was this distinction consciously made? John Lydgate, the monk of Bury St Edmunds, wrote a poem in the fifteenth century where he made explicit reference to the power of a picture painted in a book to inspire him to write about the Virgin's sorrows.(15) He writes as if he is contemplating the Virgin and Christ *per se* rather than a representation of them. In late medieval iconography many examples of what we would consider to be pictures of images are depicted as if they were living people.(16) The question of the relationship between image and reality for contemporaries becomes a pertinent one. Miracle accounts such as the vision of St Gregory, arguing as it does for the real presence in the Mass, or cult images which wept or bled or moved testify to a mindset for which boundaries between representation and represented were shifting and complex.(17)

For the most part the study of the history of Marian devotion and iconography has been pursued along separate tracks. In the last century two considerable works on English medieval devotion, one of which was entirely devoted to Marian piety, were produced. Waterton's

catalogue of destroyed images and sites pertaining to devotion to the Virgin is of particular interest.(18) Two standard works in English on the general history of the cult have appeared since the 1960s.(19) Hilda Graef and Marina Warner are both fired by the opinions they bring to bear on their study, but these often colour their interpretation of the subject. The former begins her work with a quotation from Pope John XXIII:

The Madonna is not pleased when she is put above her Son.

- a distant echo of Mary's letter to Glaucoplutus in Erasmus of Rotterdam's *Pelegrinatio Religionis*.(20) This sets the tone for a book which goes on to show that its author has no sympathy with what she considers to be excessive devotion to the Virgin. Marina Warner, on the other hand, concludes that the Marian strand of Christian devotion has served to diminish the status of women by elevating a female who biologically none can emulate. She does not however attempt to demonstrate whether women throughout history have experienced a similar sense of inferiority in their contemplation of the figure of Mary. Her book is important in that it has opened up the subject of Marian devotion to a wide public. Whilst both works are invaluable in their concise handling of a large body of material, both suffer from a lack of historical perspective. By contrast the author's voice does not

trouble Mary Clayton's masterly analysis of Anglo-Saxon devotion to the Virgin. A useful chapter on iconography sets imagery in the prevailing theological wind of the day.(21) Caroline Walker Bynum's studies of monastic devotion especially in the twelfth century, and later medieval lay devotion raises fascinating issues concerning the perception of gender during these periods. Her observations on the remarkably less rigid gender stereo-typing at the time and on the physicality of medieval devotional practices both cast light on Marian issues.(22)

On the whole the major digests of medieval iconography have issued from Germany and France, of which the Lexicon der Marienkunde is the most pertinent to this study (23). The comparative usefulness of these works is ultimately dependent on their illustrations and indexing. The Survey of Manuscripts Illustrated in Great Britain, now completed with Kathleen Scott's volumes on the fifteenth century, although not primarily focus ed on iconography, nevertheless have very useful iconographic indices.(24) A similar service is offered in the published volumes of E.W. Tristram's survey of English wall-painting.(25)

Many iconographic studies are based on a particular artefact or group. Marie-Louise Therel's giant study on the relationship between Mary and *Ecclesia* is built around a group of monuments from England, France and

Italy. The book sets the iconography in an extensive doctrinal context.(26) C.J. Purtle's recent work on the Marian motifs in the paintings of Jan Van Eyck considers the iconography from a late medieval perspective and relies to a greater extent on developments in contemporary lay piety.(27)

The investigation of the image of the Virgin of Mercy in Paul Perdrizet's seminal work begins the series of thematic studies of Marian iconography.(28) Although superceded in some of his conclusions by later scholars, this book nevertheless remains an essential resource in terms of its scope and its linking of various types of the image with different social groups. An essay on the images of the *Pieta* and the Man of Sorrows by Erwin Panofsky raises the point, further extended and turned around in this thesis, that Marian imagery was open to an entirely Christocentric interpretation.(29) The early development of the image of the Coronation of the Virgin is traced in Philippe Verdier's extensive study. In contrast to Therel's handling of a similar subject, Verdier's book is more exclusively iconographic, relegating references to a rich archive of documentary resources to the footnotes.(30) In 1996, Daniel Russo produced a history of Marian iconography in the context of a symposium on the role of the Virgin in medieval society. It is an interestingly crafted survey with a full up-to-date bibliography.(31)

A final figure whose sometimes controversial contributions to this field have provided food for thought is Leo Steinberg, notably in his book, *The Sexuality of Christ and Modern Oblivion*.(32) Steinberg advances the notion of the *ostentatio* in the iconography of Christ, an idea developed in the following pages in the context of Marian iconography.

The intercessory role of the Virgin is closely bound up with glorified and symbolic roles such as Mary as the Queen of Heaven and as *Sponsa*, which have particularly been the focus of Verdier's and Therel's work. This thesis, however, is the first attempt to devote a whole iconographic study to the intercessory aspect of Marian devotion, and to trace it through from the twelfth century to the very different world of the fifteenth. (33) From first setting out on this quest, it has become clear that such a study would involve probing the perceived implications for contemporaries of the Virgin's role in the Incarnation and how this affected the overall devotional scheme.

The potential scope for an exhaustive study of this theme would be enormous, so certain parameters have been introduced with the following justifications:

-The study begins with the twelfth century since this period represents a climax in terms of the expansion of Marian doctrine, and some of the first recorded evidence of the importance of the cult at a devotional

level.(34) The twelfth century also represents a turning point where some of the central metaphors which were to be worked out both iconographically and in a narrative context in later centuries had their roots.(35) The late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were marked by two developments relevant to Marian devotion. The first was the advent of the printing press and the second, related to the first, was the advance in some areas of Europe of Protestant ideology and the resulting fragmentation of the western church. A religion largely communicated to the populace through the image was, as a result, increasingly mediated through the word.(36)

-Geographically the focus is on Northern Europe, and particularly on England. Arguably the conclusions reached in what follows would be generally the same which ever area of Western Europe was studied. National boundaries when they existed presented no obstacle to the travels of itinerant artists and preachers, to the journeys of churchmen, or to the dissemination of manuscripts. Regional variations are interesting in themselves, but do not change the overall picture in so far as this particular subject is concerned. Surviving English medieval artefacts represent a balance between reflecting the general picture and presenting some telling regional variations which nuance the interpretation of the type they represent.(37) Furthermore English medieval Marian imagery has not been the subject of a close study in

recent years possibly because its relative scantiness is discouraging to iconographers.(38)

Chapter one introduces the study with an historical survey of Mariology and Marian devotion up to and including the twelfth century. This provides a chronological framework of pertinent developments which inform the evolution of Marian iconography. Chapters two to seven have been arranged thematically according to iconographic types, each chapter having its own independent chronology.

The second and third chapters are concerned with intercessory types. In the second chapter images in which a supplicant addresses the Virgin are considered, taking examples from the eleventh to the fourteenth-centuries, and setting them against a background of earlier examples of invocatory images. How Mary is depicted, and how she is addressed, is examined in comparison with these. The third chapter takes the iconography of the Virgin as intercessor to the Judge as its theme. It looks at the emergence of the Virgin in this role in the tenth century, her appearance with other intercessors, her position, posture, and the response of the Judge.

The image of the Virgin of Mercy is the focus of the fourth chapter. In this type the Virgin adopts a posture in which she shelters figures under her cloak, and

appears to be representing the operation of divine mercy. The origins of this image in biblical metaphor, and early Christian literature are explored, and its transformation into a more specific image in later medieval miracle and visionary writing. From the fourteenth century it becomes a widespread iconographic type. Continental examples have received much attention from iconographers. This chapter concentrates upon the surviving English group which, in terms of composition and context, show marked variations from the continental mainstream. Taking three examples from different periods and media, an analysis is made of the possible significance of the image in different contexts. An appendix is attached listing the existing English group for the first time.

Chapter five turns to the Weighing of the Souls or *Psychostasis*, and its Marian variation which began to emerge in the fourteenth century showing the Virgin apparently interfering with this judicial process. The image, associated with judgement from its first appearance, is shown to carry with it connotations of the power of intercession, the efficacy of good works, and the power of saints, particularly the Virgin, to overturn evil. England is rich in surviving examples of the late medieval Marian type, and a group of these are closely examined to bring out their iconographic variation, and to consider the significance of the choice of this motif. Those English examples which have not been listed

together before, and which cover a wide range of media, appear in a second appendix.

The Virgin's power to protect her devotees is scrutinised in chapter six, which explores iconographic motifs in which she is seen in conflict with, or in triumph over, representatives of evil. The theme is discussed under the title of the late medieval English epithet, the 'Empress of Hell'.

In chapter seven the relationship between the Virgin and divine mercy is explored by seeing whether any links can be established between the iconography of the allegorical figure of *Misericordia* and that of the Virgin.

A final section summarises the points made in each chapter and offers four general conclusions. These are concerned with the implications of the iconographic content of the images studied and their intepretation by contemporaries. A third conclusion deals with the characteristics of English examples of those Marian iconographic types which are the subject of this study. The fourth conclusion concerns the literary influence on the formation of these visual motifs.

As an iconographic study, art historical time frames are frequently adopted in the text. Romanesque refers in what follows to the eleventh and first half of the twelfth centuries, and Gothic from the second half of the twelfth century to the early sixteenth century. More

generally the term Early Medieval applies to the period from the fifth to the twelfth century and Late Medieval from the thirteenth to the early sixteenth century.

All quotations are given in their original language, except Greek, Old English and Welsh which are quoted in translation. Biblical passages are taken from the Latin text of the Vulgate. All proper names are given in their modern form.

ENDNOTES

1. E. Waterton, *Pietas Mariana Britannica*, (London: St Joseph Catholic Library, 1879), part 2, p.29.

2. For example see exhib. cat., *L'Oeuvre de Limoges*, eds., E, Taburet-Delahaye & B. Drake Boehm (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1996) nos 156 & 157. They date respectively from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. Both make explicit reference to the Incarnation. The first is inscribed with the angelic salutation with the *gratia plena* which is so fitting considering the function of the object. The other bears a dedicatory inscription invoking Christ's mercy which is an attribute intimately connected with the Incarnation.

3. William Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, I-IV, ed. A. Davril & T.M. Thoibodeau, *CC* 140 (1995), Bk 1, ch.3, lines 278-280: *Et nota quod capsa in qua hostie consecrate conservantur significat corpus Virginis gloriose de qua dicitur in Psalmo surge Domino in requiam tuam, tu et archa sanctificationis tue.*

4. For example, blasphemers surrounding a figure of the Man of Sorrows in an early-fourteenth-century Flemish psalter repr. in O. Pacht and J.J.G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966-1985), 1 (1966), pl.23, cat. no. 296. See also similar moralising compositions in fifteenth-century wall-paintings at Poundstock and Breage in Cornwall, at Broughton, Bucks., and Corby, Lincs.

5. The link between the ongoing Passion and the historical event is linked in the case of blaspheming,through the tradition of Christ's suffering through hearing the words of the Jews at around the time of the Crucifixion. This is then compared with His suffering whenever blasphemy is uttered. In the fourteenth-century English version of the *Somme Le Roi* blasphemers are described as worse than the Jews because their words butcher Christ's body (*The Book of Vices and Virtues*, ed., W.N. Francis EETS OS 217 (1942) p.62. See also a passage in Chaucer's *The Pardoner's Tale* (Lines 708-9) and H.L.Spencer,

English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) p.339.

6. For English iconoclasm see M. Aston, *Faith and Fire: Popular and Unpopular Religion* (London: Hambledon press, 1993) pp 231-289; E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992) pp 377-593. For theories and practise of iconoclasm from Lollardy to Elizabeth I see M. Aston, *England's Iconoclasts: Laws Against Images* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

7. For example, the doom-board at Wenhaston, Suffolk, where the mark of the Rood originally fixed to the board is still visible.

8. For a cautionary note regarding the tendency sometimes to work from contemporary doctrine so that the iconography simply becomes a means of illustrating doctrinal history see P. Skubiszewski, 'Les imponderables de la récherche iconographique á propos d'un livre récent sur la thème de la glorification de l'Église et de la Vierge dans l'art médiéval', *CCM* 30 (1987) 145-53.

9. For example images which were kissed in divine service such as those on a pax, or a depiction of a cross or crucifix placed in front of the Gospel in a Missal. Similarly the inter-action with the Easter Sepulchre during the Easter liturgy will dictate what imagery appears on such an object and how it is composed. At Long Melford in Suffolk a painting of the resurrected Christ is placed on the soffit of the arch below which His body was symbolically laid in the tomb on Good Friday. The image, although not visible to the onlooker owing to its position, represents Christ rising up from the very tomb in which he is laid in the Easter liturgy. Moreover the Long Melford Easter sepulchre also served as the tomb of a local benefactor. An image of triumph over death was therefore appropriately placed for the comfort of the actual occupant of the tomb. See Duffy (1992) p.40

10. Durandus quotes this remark by Gregory in the *Rationale*, book 1, chapter 3 (Davril & Thoibodeau (1995) pp.34-35). A discussion on imagery at the Synod of Arras in the eleventh century raised a similar point with regard to free-standing images of Christ, the Virgin and the Saints. See E.

Sabbé, 'Le Culte Marial et la Genèse de la Sculpture Médiévale', *Revue Belge d'Archaeologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, 20 (1951) 101-125 (p.121).

11. *PL* 158 cols. 644D-645A. See also *PL* 174 col.964 for a similar remark made by the twelfth-century Benedictine, Godfrey of Admont.

12. See *A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation*, eds., R.J. Coggins & J.L. Houlden (London: SCM Press, 1990) pp 438-440.

13. Quoted by S. Ringbom in 'Devotional Images and Imaginative devotions: Notes on the place of art in late medieval private piety', *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 73 (1969) 159-170 (p.161).

14. R. Fulton, *The Virgin Mary and the Song of Songs*, (unpublished university thesis, University of Columbia, 1994) pp 436-437.

15. *Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed., H.N. McCracken, 2 vols, *EETS* ES 107 (1911), I, pp.208-209 &250-251, 'The Fifteen Joys and Sorrows of Mary' & 'The Dolerous Pyte of Christe's Passioun'.

16. For example a picture in the late-fourteenth-century *Vernon Manuscript* in which a woman prays to an image of the Virgin which is depicted as if it was alive (Bod. Eng. poet a.1 fol. 124v). See *K. Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts 1385-1485, SMIBI* 6, 2 vols (1996) 2, no.1. Camille devotes a chapter to this theme in M. Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1989) pp 220-241. See also S.Ringbom (1969).

17. For some examples of miracle stories involving moving images of the Virgin see *The Stella Maris of John of Garland*, ed., E.F. Wilson (Cambridge, Mass: Medieval Academy of America, 1946) p.106 no.8; p.139 no.54; *Exempla de Jacques de Vitry*, ed., T.F. Crane (London: D. Nutt, 1890) p.115 no.276).

18. D. Rock, *The Church of Our Fathers*, eds., G.W. Hart & W.H. Frere, 4 vols., originally published 1849 (London: John Murray, 1905); E. Waterton (1879).

19. H. Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion, 2 vols* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1963, 1965; repr. in 1 vol., 1985); M. Warner, *Alone of*

All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary (London: Quartet Books, 1985).

20. *The Colloquies of Erasmus*, trans., C.R. Thompson (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1965) pp 289-290.

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34. See chapter 1. For a useful summary of the importance of the eleventh century for Marian devotion see E. Sabbé (1951)

35. For example, metaphors associated with the Virgin of Mercy and the interceding Virgin exposing her breast to God in Cistercian writing; the extended image of the *Psychostasis* as a metaphor of the Atonement, originating in Gregory and Venantius Fortunatus, and developed by Rupert of Deutz. See chapters 3,4, & 5.

36. See Conclusion

37. Some examples of regional types in iconography connected with this study might include: Eve appearing below the enthroned Virgin and Child in fourteenth century Tuscan painting, the Virgin throwing her rosary into St Michael's scales in fourteenth and fifteenth-century English art, and the *rosencrantz* motif in German and Swiss fifteenth and sixteenth-century art.

38. Nigel Morgan's two essays on English Marian iconography in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries which were produced for the Harlaxton symposia provide a useful summary and bibliography. See N.J. Morgan, 'Texts and Images of Marian Devotion in Thirteenth-Century England' Harlaxton *Medieval English Studies*, 1, ed., W.M. Ormrod (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1991) pp 69-103; N.J. Morgan, 'Texts and Images of Marian Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England, *Harlaxton Medieval English Studies*, 3, ed., N. Rogers (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1993) pp 34-57.

CHAPTER ONE

THE VIRGIN AS INTERCESSOR, MEDIATOR AND PURVEYOR OF MERCY: AN HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Misericordiam, et iudicium cantabo tibi, Domine (Ps. 101:1)

The Virgin speaks only on four separate occasions in the Gospels.(1) She appears in the narrative as a young woman and disappears from it after the account of Pentecost. She is not explicitly recorded as being present at the Last Supper, the Resurrection or the Ascension. Only John includes her in the scene of the Crucifixion. Her Son, when he speaks to her is formal, even brusque, as the descriptions show of the aftermath of Christ's encounter with the doctors in the Temple, the Marriage at Cana, the rebuff in Matthew 12, 46-50, and the words from the cross in John.(2)

By the second century stories of her life until the Annunciation were in circulation.(3) From the late fifth her life from the Crucifixion until her death and Assumption was added to this literary canon.(4) In the same century she was hailed by the council of the church as *Theotokos*, the Mother of God. By the end of the Patriarchal period, in the Eastern church, she was regarded as the Second Eve, the Queen of Heaven, and perpetual Virgin.(5) In the visual arts, amongst the earliest images of the Crucifixion, and Ascension, the

Virgin Mary takes a prominent role.(6)

The debate which took place at the Council of Ephesus in 431 which ultimately gave rise to the recognition of the Virgin as *Theotokos*, was a Christological and not a Mariological one.(7) The council resolved that Christ was, at once, God and man. These two natures were inseparable. The Virgin therefore was not simply the mother of the human Jesus Christ, but mother of God too. This decision had enormous implications for the Virgin's cult. As God's mother she bestowed her human nature upon Him, so beginning the process of Redemption from Original Sin. As God's mother her parental role did not cease with His mortal death on the cross. Just as she had bestowed her humanity on Him, so, in a reciprocal way, His divinity redounded on her. The decision at Ephesus, which was compounded at Chalcedon, made the Virgin's glorification in heaven theologically inevitable.(8) In this light it is perhaps not surprising that in the same century the so-called Transitus legends, describing her death and Assumption, began to circulate.

These developments were crucial for the history of the Virgin as intercessor and mediator, and to her role in the dispensation of mercy. As God's mother in heaven and on earth, her proximity to God and therefore effectiveness as an intercessor was established. Her divine maternity made her a channel through which God became human. Conversely, as a human being, sharing her nature with the rest of humankind, she was an approachable channel through which humankind might approach God. Medieval understanding

of the Virgin as mediator developed in both ways. As the agent through whom God became human in order to redeem humankind, her role was closely involved with the manifestation of divine mercy.

The following brief survey aims to highlight certain mile-posts in the development of these aspects of devotion to the Virgin until the beginning of the thirteenth century, in order to provide an historical framework within which the iconography considered in later chapters can be interpreted

I THE VIRGIN AS INTERCESSOR: from the third to the tenth-century

In his *De Oratione* written in the first half of the third century Origen assumes that angels and saints intercede for Christians in heaven.(9) The institutionalisation of the intercession of saints can be seen in the development of the Litany of the Saints, the earliest forms of which can be found in the East from the late third century and in the West from the late fifth century.(10) Mary's presence in the list of intercessors is usually prominent, often under a number of different appellations. Outside the litany there is evidence of recognition of her special role as intercesssor in a papyrus fragment of a prayer directly addressed to the Virgin and known as the *Sub Tuum* in the Latin world. Dating from the fourth and even from the third century, it translates:

"Under your mercy, we take refuge, Mother of God, do not reject our supplications in necessity. But deliver us from

danger. (You) alone chaste, alone blessed".(11)
By specifically employing the title which was to be enshrined at Ephesus, it is implied that in this role the Virgin is seen as most efficacious as an intercessor.

During these early centuries Greek writers showed much more enthusiasm than their Latin counterparts for the power of Mary's prayer. Although the second-century bishop of Lyons, Iranaeus, has been hailed as the earliest champion of Mary in this role, his writing on the subject is open to other interpretations.(12) Entirely unambiguous, however, is this extract from a prayer at the end of Basil of Seleucia's sermon on the Annunciation, written in the fifth century:

> "Look down on us from above and be propitious to us. Lead us in peace and having brought us without shame to the throne of judgement, grant us a place at the right hand of your Son, that we may be borne off to heaven and sing with the angels to the uncreated, consubstantial Trinity."(13)

In this prayer the Virgin is called on to smoothe the passage from this world to the next. Her importance as an intercessor at this liminal point anticipates future developments in her cult.

The *Akathistos Hymn* was composed similarly for the Feast of the Annunciation but was of much greater significance due to its liturgical prominence both in the Greek and later, when it was translated, in the Latin church. Its authorship is uncertain, but it was probably written in the sixth century.(14) It includes numerous epithets in praise of the Virgin, amongst which she is hailed as a mighty intercessor - the "reconciliation of

many sinners". Whilst not a doctrinal statement, the hymn reflects popular piety of the time. The occasion of its performance underlines the importance of the doctrine of the Incarnation on the development of Marian devotion and the many other epithets which appear endorse her powers as an intercessor.

A Marian attribute which is not present in the *Akathistos Hymn*, but which was to be an important factor in developing attitudes to the Virgin's intercession was the attention given to Mary's human maternal feelings. This can be found in the writings of the two Syrian poets Joseph of Sarug (d. 521) and Romanos the Singer (d. c.560).(15) Both describe the drama of the Passion in a very immediate way. They emphasise Mary's grief and anxiety, even doubt, in response to it, and by doing so encourage the sense that her subjection to the human predicament increases her sympathy for it. A significant passage appears in Romanos' *Second Hymn for the Nativity*, which was written in Greek, when Mary is addressing a prayer of intercession to her Son:

> "Those whom you drove out of the paradise of delight turn their eyes towards me, for I bring them back there; let the universe realise that you were born of me, my little Child, God before time began."(16)

She addresses her son as the eternal God, and, endearingly as her little child. The warmth of her language implies her maternal influence, and the startling juxtaposition of the two invocations stresses that she is mother of both.

In a similar but more elaborate vein the eighth-century Patriarch of Constantinople, Germanus, in his first sermon on the Assumption records how his faith in Mary's intercession resides in her maternal unfluence:

> "But you, having maternal power with God, can obtain forgiveness even for the greatest sinners. For He can never fail to hear you, because God obeys you through and in all things, as His true Mother."(17)

A Greek *Apocalypse* dating from the ninth century reveals the Virgin as intercessor in a different context. Here, she instigates the whole company of saints to plead on behalf of the damned so winning a period of respite for their sufferings.(18) Whilst it is difficult to assess how influential such texts were, it is significant that in later centuries the Virgin is called on, along with other saints, to alleviate the pain of those who, by the later Middle Ages, were understood to be in Purgatory.

A near contemporary of the Patriarch Germanus was Ambrose Autpert (d.784), the first important figure in the West to embrace some of the enthusiasms of Byzantine Marian devotion. As abbot of a monastery in Southern Italy he must have been in contact with the Greek world through a number of monks who had taken refuge there from the religious persecution of the Iconoclas tic era. He is one of the first western figures who is known to have written sermons specifically in honour of Mary. He spells out her all powerful intercession in relation to that of other saints in his sermon on the Assumption:

...quia nec potiorem meritis invenimus ad placandam iram Judicis quam te, quae meruisti esse mater Redemptoris et Judicis.(19)

Ambrose Autpert's lyrical style, especially in the Sermon for the Feast of the Assumption, made his writing an attractive source for liturgical pieces. A passage from this sermon, now known as the prayer, *Sancta Maria*, was certainly being used as part of a private office by the ninth century, and was later absorbed into the liturgy.(20) Readings taken more generally from Ambrose Autpert's Marian sermons were included in offices throughout the Latin church and served to encourage Marian devotion in the West.(21)

Like Romanos and Jacob of Sarug he also explores Mary's human feelings, particularly in association with her care of Christ as a baby. Following a trend begun in the West by Augustine, and continued by Venantius Fortunatus (d.c.610) in the sixth century, Ambrose Autpert presents the picture of a mother suckling her child, perhaps the most powerful image of a caring Mary, and one which had appeared in the visual arts from a very early date.(22) In an expansion of this theme in a sermon on the Assumption he borrowed a passage from an eighth-century sermon which had been composed for the newly established feast:

Felicia oscula labris impressa lactantibus, cum inter crebra indicia reptantis infantiae, utpote verus ex te filius, tibi matri adluderet, cum verus ex patre dominus imperaret.(23)

Although doubtless included to underline the human nature

of Christ, this intimate scene also casts a warm light on the role of Mary and witnesses the notion of the close, protective mother as a thread of Marian devotion in the West from an early point. The sermon was adopted as one of the readings in the Marian office.(24)

An explicit plea to the Virgin to intercede at the point of death appears in a string of Marian invocations which survive in a mid-ninth-century Carolingian manuscript:

Sancta Maria, adiuva me in die exitus mei ex hac praesenti vita. Sancta Maria, adiuva me in die tribulationis. (25)

At the beginning of the eleventh century the passage turns up again in a Winchester manuscript, and in a context where Marian piety was becoming increasingly preoccupied with the transition from life to death.(26) The grim Anglo-Saxon view of the Last Judgement explains this concern. A tenth-century homily for Easter Day written in Old English describes the Judge at the Doom:

"For God himself shall then take no heed of any man's penitence, and no intercession shall avail us there, but he will then be more relentless and remorseless than any wild beast, or than any anger might ever be."(27)

In a similar vein, the contemporary poem *Christ* deals at length with the Apocalypse, modelling the Judge's address to the Blessed and Damned on Matthew. The latter are berated for their lack of gratitude for Christ's sacrifice and consigned to suffer "torment for evermore and suffer exile amid devils." (28)

By this period the Virgin was recognised as the most

important intercessor in public as well as in private devotions. Her power was seen to reside in her maternal influence as *Theotokos*, an emotional relationship which was already being explored by commentators. Invoking her intercession at the point of death was becoming a central feature of her cult as intercessor.

II THE VIRGIN AS MEDIATOR: from the fifth to the tenth-century

An examination of the Virgin as mediator involves looking again at some of the material considered above in a different light. It is a term which describes a figure who provides a point of contact between God and humankind. As such, prophets and angels may act as mediators. In the New Testament, Christ, as both God and man, is recognised by St Paul as the one true mediator.(29) The Virgin's mediation springs from her role as the agent of the Incarnation. As such she is addressed as mediator by Basil of Seleucia in a sermon on the Annunciation.(30)

If God were born as man through the Virgin, the implications of that birth could also be understood to occur 'through' her. When the Virgin is hailed in this manner, then her role as mediator is implied. Many of the accolades in the Akathistos hymn, for instance, praise the Virgin through whom a whole repertory of fruits of the Incarnation were made possible.(31) The same work also provides examples of metaphors applied to the Virgin in this role. Images such as bridge and ladder are used which

suggest a figure who enables transition from one state to another.(32) To these may be added door and key .(33) Later on, in the western church, the terms neck and aqueduct were to be applied to her.(34)

An aspect of the Virgin's mediation which dovetails closely with that of her intercession is when she is recognised as a channel through whom God forgives sinners. The prototype of this coincides with one of the earliest appearances of the Marian title, *mediatrix*, in the Latin church. Paul the Deacon translated the Greek miracle account of Theophilus into Latin in the eighth century. His account of the forgiveness of a repentant sinner through the offices of the Virgin includes a prayer which celebrates the Mother of God as the intercessor for sinners, the refreshment of the poor andthe *mediatrix* between God and men.(35) The title did not become popular in the West until the twelfth century, although Peter Damian in the eleventh century encapsulated its potential to operate in two directions in this passage from the end of his second sermon written for the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin:

...sicut per te Dei Filius dignatus est ad nostra descendere, ita et nos per te ad eius valeamus consortium pervenire.(36)

The essential difference between the Virgin as intercessor and as mediator is that the former is an active role whilst the latter is a passive one. In humankind's relationship to God, the Virgin actively sues for God's mercy through her intercession. By definition,

intercession is a mediating process, so the Virgin intercedes from her position as mediator. Whilst this nice distinction may have had little impact outside theological circles, it can sometimes be observed in the iconographic treatment of the Virgin in these roles.

III THE VIRGIN AS PURVEYOR OF MERCY

until the beginning of the eleventh century.

On the whole, a close scrutiny of the relationship between the Virgin and the dispensation of divine mercy in the writings of this period, yields a figure who is not the source of mercy, but its mediator. The Virgin asks God for mercy on behalf of humankind. She is the means through which mercy reaches the world. Epithets such as *fons misericordiae*, and *mater misericordiae* express this process.(37) Similarly container images such as *templum pietatis et misericordiae* and *aula universalis propitiationis* connote the same principle.(38) *Pincerna veniae* suggests a managing role.(39)

However, three elements appear during the period which cloud this distinction, and contribute towards a tendency, which becomes more evident in the popular piety of the later Middle Ages, to perceive the Virgin as the source of mercy. Two of them may be expressed as conundrums. First, if God chose to become human in order to save humankind, He required the agency of a human mother. He has given His human creation free will, so the Virgin by her own choice agreed to be the mother of God.

Secondly, the Virgin is a powerful intercessor. Many writers remark how her Son can refuse her nothing. Further, she is often described as eliciting mercy from a God who is minded to be angry and damning. This provides a background to the later medieval tendency to associate mercy with Mary and justice with God. Here too she may be perceived as controlling the output of mercy. The conundrum is that, although neither of these roles make her the source of mercy, nevertheless she may be perceived as such because, without her, mercy would not be dispensed. The third element is the sheer volume and extravagance of literature around the theme of the Incarnation and the power of the Virgin's intercession. This witnesses contemporary awareness of the significance of Mary's roles in these events. A brief survey, once again revisiting some of the texts already considered, will illustrate this development.

The words said by the Virgin at the scene of the Visitation and repeated in the daily office as the Magnificat include the line:

Et misericordia eius a progenie in progenies timentibus eum (Luke 1,50)

This sets out what may be called the 'merciful contract', outlining the parameters of mercy and its inter-relation with justice. From the third or fourth century, devotion to the Virgin is discernibly developing along the lines whereby she is called to protect supplicants from danger in case, by falling into temptation, they thereby are

deprived of mercy. In the *Sub Tuum* Mary is asked for protection and deliverance from danger. The Greek word used for 'deliver' is *rysai*, which is the same word, employed in a similar context, in the Greek version of the Lord's prayer when God the father is invoked to deliver humankind from evil.(40) This 'mirroring' language underlines the close bonding between the *Theotokos* and the merciful face of God. The technique, both in language and imagery, is going to be a feature of Marian devotion throughout the Middle Ages.

The earliest *Transitus* legends, dating from the sixth century, include an episode in which a non-believer is struck down at the Virgin's funeral and asks for mercy. The divergence in detail between the main Latin and Greek accounts is interesting, indicating the precociousness of Greek devotion to the Virgin at this time. In the Greek narrative the penitent asks Mary for mercy. In the Latin narrative, on the other hand, this direct appeal to the Virgin for mercy is subtly qualified. The Jewish priest, who, in this account, is the protagonist, rails against the respect being paid, not to the body of the Virgin but to what is described in the translation as "the tabernacle of him that hath troubled us and all our nation..". He attacks the bier and his hands wither away. He asks for mercy and Peter tells him that mercy is only shown to believers, recalling the sentiment of the *Magnificat*. The Marian setting of this account and the significant description of her as a receptacle of Christ makes her prominent, but the granting of mercy itself is not

explicitly linked to Mary.(41)

The *Akathistos* hymn describes Mary as a protectress. She is also described as having power over hell, indicating that she is able to conquer those evils from which humankind claims her protection.(42) The passage from Romanos quoted above describes the God who expelled humankind from paradise, and the Mother who brought them back. Germanus enlarges Romanos' point. The Virgin can protect supplicants against God's just sentence:

> "You turn away the just threat and the sentence of damnation, because you love the Christians... therefore the Christian people trustfully turn to you, refuge of sinners." (43)

In this the Virgin's protection is expressed in a new light, even if its implication is essentially no different from asking Mary to offer her protection from evil, since, according to the merciful contract, only evil is condemned. The expression though is all important, and becomes a commonplace in later writing. Germanus' faith in the Virgin's abilities to sway the Judge has already been demonstrated in the text quoted earlier from the same sermon.

That same sentiment appears at a similar period in western writing. The eighth-century Anglo-Saxon Book of Cerne contains three prayers to the Virgin, the first of which lavishly praises her and includes the accolade:

> *Confidimus enim et pro certo scimus quia omne quod vis potes impetrare a filio tuo Domino nostro Jesu Christo.*

The third prayer strikes quite a different tone. Addressed to Mary, nevertheless confidence in divine mercy is acknowledged because of the Passion and Resurrection. The prayer begins acknowledging Mary's mediating role, through whom these events could happen, but the language concentrates on the events of Easter and not on the Incarnation.(44)

Later Anglo-Saxon monastic piety demonstrates all the strands of expressing the Virgin's merciful role which have been noted so far. A dramatic passage from an eleventh-century Winchester prayer-book indicates the tendency to perceive a Doom scenario in which the mother is merciful, and the judge is angry; in which faith in the Virgin's power to influence God to be merciful is expressed, even though it is acknowledged, in this context, that punishment is deserved; and in which a plea for the Virgin's protection from God's anger is insinuated:

Sed tu, queso, pietate et incomparabilis et venerabilis virgo, mitiga fuorem et averte iram Domini Dei mei sanctissimis precibus tuis. Submove celestem quam mereor vindictam, et tuam quam non mereor infer medelam.(45)

A simple test of the extent to which the Mother of God's two roles as intercessor and mediator had an impact on contemporary perceptions with regard to how and by whom divine mercy was bestowed, can be applied to invocations based on the form of the litany. In a number of contexts the Virgin is asked for mercy through the invocation *miserere*, rather than for her intercessory prayers. The

convention established in the litany, however, was to ask the saints for prayers and only the Godhead for mercy.(46)

IV APPROACHES TO MARIAN INTERCESSION in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The development of thought concerning Mary's intercession and her role in divine mercy reaches a watershed with the writing of Anselm of Canterbury (d.1109), especially in his widely circulated three prayers to the Virgin.(47) Such was the impact of Anselm's contribution to Marian devotion, that as many as eighteen prayers to the Virgin were attributed to him until modern times, and his name was wrongly connected with the establishment of the feast of the Immaculate Conception in twelfth-century England.(48) The three prayers are written in a highly rhetorical style, taking the established format of contrasting the abjectness of the sinner with the exalted virtues of the one he addresses.

He takes the conventional line that the power of the Virgin's intercession resides in her maternal role:

> *Aut cuius intercessio facilius reo veniam impetrabit, quam quae illum generalem et singularem iustum ultorem et misericordem indultorem lactavit?*(49)

The novelty of these prayers, however, with regard to the Virgin's intercession, is in the energetic way Anselm argues through the full logic of her relation to divine mercy, as the mother of Christ. He accomplishes this using a pithy style which dramatically juxtaposes the Virgin and

God and ingeniously exploits the relationships of mother and son, both to each other and to humankind.

Fugiat ergo reus iusti dei ad piam matrem misericordis dei. Refugiat reus offensae matris ad pium filium benignae matris. Ingerat se reus utriusque inter utrumque. Iniciat se inter pium filium et piam matrem. Pie domine, parce servo matris tuae. Pia domina, parce servo filii tui.(50)

In the first sentence the accused might have fled from the just God to the merciful God, but God is merciful because He has a human mother. By including the "good mother", Anselm refers to the operation of mercy. The Virgin becomes the attribute of mercy. At the same time, by describing two beings, rather than two aspects of one being, he makes the phrase less abstract. In the second part of the passage mercy is invoked from the Son, though he is described as the Son of the kind mother. The final section invokes the mother of the Son and the Son of the mother so implying again that it is the existence of the human relationship between God and a human which enables the accused to be spared, rather than this faculty residing in the individuals who make up the relationship. In his choice of words, Anselm appears to make this point explicit, although it is implied by other authors' comments on Marian intercession. It may also be significant in the interpretation of intercessory imagery focussed on the Virgin and child.

A passage from the third prayer juxtaposes the Son of God with the Son of Mary:

Quemadmodum enim dei filius est beatitudo iustorum: sic, o tu salus foecunditatis, filius tuus est reconciliatio peccatorum.(51)

As before, the two attributes of the divine, are distributed between two beings, but the relationship and not the individuals distinguish which is just and which is merciful. God is not the bliss of the just and the Virgin is not the reconciliation of sinners, but the divinity of God is tied up with justice and the humanity, expressed by being Mary's son, with mercy.

In a final example, Anselm packs into a concise phrase, again exploiting the device of mirroring in his use of language, a complex idea associated with the Fall and Redemption:

Deus igitur est pater rerum creatarum, et Maria mater rerum recreatarum.(52)

As God created the world, so the Virgin enabled the world to be saved or, as Anselm expresses it, to start afresh.

In his literary style, the tightness with which he harnesses mother and son, as it were, to the same theological argument, and his emphasis on relationships rather than individuals, Anselm's prayers place the Virgin in a context which emphasises her unique powers as intercessor and mediator.

Anselm's pupil and biographer, Eadmer, must have written in the light of these prayers. His own tract, *De Excellentia Virginis Mariae*, crucial to the development of the theology of the Immaculate Conception, adopts a similar style to the prayers, even utilising some of

Anselm's phrases.(53) This typically Anselmian passage, in which everything is explained, and nothing left to be assumed, argues, that because the Virgin is the mother of God, and therefore the mother of mercy, so Mary must elicit mercy when her Son comes to judge:

Certe Deus noster (teste Propheta) misericordia nostra est, et tu eiusdem Domini nostri absque dubio vera misercordiae mater denegas nobis effectum misericordiae, cuius tam mirabiliter facta es mater, quid faciemus, cum idem filius tuus advenerit cunctos aequo judicaturus judicio.(54)

When Anselm's premises are not in place, however, a certain divisiveness can be discerned in Eadmer's writing in which the Virgin and her Son appear to be moving in different orbits. He suggests, for instance, that salvation might come more quickly when Mary's name is invoked rather than that of her Son. The Judge, he says, has to decide whether to bestow mercy or not, whereas the Virgin's merits work instantly on behalf of anyone who appeals to her, without reference to his or her worthiness. (55) Anselm rarely mentions the Mother without mentioning the Son, whereas Eadmer does not insist so explicitly on this unity, so encouraging the tendency to ally mercy with the Virgin and justice with God.(56)

Anselm and Eadmer were both Benedictines at Christ Church, Canterbury. In the early twelfth century the emergence of the Cistercian order gave rise to a new generation of theologians who, working from a milieu which claimed a special allegiance to the Virgin, greatly enriched Marian thinking.(57)

Bernard of Clairvaux's Marian writings became widely circulated. They are confined to sermons, and make up a very small part of his corpus. However, such was their fame that, by the end of the twelfth century a large number of Marian works were spuriously attributed to him.(58) In the thirteenth century, in Dante's *Il Paradiso*, it is Bernard who asks Mary to intercede on the poet's behalf.(59) By the end of the Middle Ages Bernard was described as the Virgin's champion, perhaps because of the influence of the language of courtly love on his writing.(60)

Like Anselm, the power of the writings lies in the style. Whereas Anselm's arguments are beautifully crafted and tightly stated, Bernard's are expressed passionately, frequently resorting to a vivid and sustained use of metaphor. His Mariology was conservative. He was, for instance, outspokenly opposed to the Immaculate Conception and silent on the subject of the Bodily Assumption. His style of writing, though based on the premise of the united action of Mother and Son, adds flesh and personality to the protagonists, encouraging them to be considered primarily in an individual light. He also states the problem of understanding mercy and justice in one being. At the beginning of the sermon for the Octave of the Assumption he advocates Christ as only mediator between God and His creation, but then talks of God's humanity being swallowed up by His deity, and how His compassion sits uneasily with his judicial office:

...quia, etsi didicit ex his quae passus est compassionem, ut misericors fieret, habet tamen et iudiciarem potestatem.(61)

He then talks, by contrast, of the approachability of the

Virgin in whom there is nothing harsh or frightening:

.. tota suavis est, omnibus offerens lac et lanum.(62)

This point is elaborated in another sermon where he suggests that the Mother should approach the Son on behalf of humankind, who should in turn approach the Father.(63) This vivid intercessionary chain found its visual equivalent from the fourteenth century.

The importance of Bernard's writings for later Marian devotion is that they were widely circulated, and that their style, though not their theology, perpetuated the impression of the Virgin and her Son operating individually. Their dramatic and visual nature inspired literary works and iconographic formulae.(64)

His work also provided direct inspiration for fellow Cistercians and other contemporary churchmen with whom he came in contact. It is remarkable how many of these are mentioned in the following pages, not only for their contribution to developing Mariological thinking, but for their enrichment of Marian vocabulary and imagery.(65) One such was a former novice, Amadeus, who became Bishop of Lausanne. He wrote a series of Marian homilies. After his death, these were absorbed into the Saturday morning liturgy at Lausanne cathedral.(66) Amadeus continues the highly visual style of his erstwhile teacher. In the final

sermon, which praises the Virgin's mediation, Amadeus imagines her enthroned in heaven, first after the Son, continually interceding for humanity. He says she sees more than the four beasts covered with eyes in Ezekiel's vision, because she sees everyone's weakness and takes pity. In a number of instances he employs a phrase or passage conventionally associated with Christ which he applies to the Virgin. He describes her, for instance, like the Good Shepherd, bringing back those who have strayed:

Sic illa colligit dispersos... (67)

This device, which was used by other medieval writers, subtly inserts the sense of unity, even when the dramatic context tends towards portraying mother and Son separately.(68)

The writings of Anselm and Bernard exemplify two features which were to influence the Marian mindset of the later Middle Ages. Anselm's prayers explicitly persist on the complementary actions of the Virgin and her Son regarding the dispensation of Mercy and Justice. His syntax emphasises that the two do not function separately, but must be considered together. He portrays the Virgin as the merciful face of God. He does not write about personalities, nor, in order to explain his points, does he use extended metaphors.

St Bernard's Marian writings are sermons and not prayers. They are designed to involve the listener or

reader. Anselm's prayers are about his relationship with God. Bernard's explores his audience's relationship. There is a didactic element to the sermons which would not be appropriate in the prayers. The Cistercian's style presents the Virgin and her Son as personalities who relate with each other and with the audience for whom Bernard putatively writes. He uses metaphor and allegory in a remarkably visual way. There is a tension between these two approaches, and both have an effect on Marian literature and iconography

V THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH-CENTURY BACKGROUND

Theologians of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were writing in the context of a massive expansion of Marian devotion in the West.

In the area of doctrine, decisive developments took place in the teaching of the Bodily Assumption and the Immaculate Conception. In England, the feast of the Immaculate Conception was re-established through the efforts of Anselm of Bury and Eadmer of Canterbury, having been suppressed since the Conquest. Elsewhere in Europe, churchmen remained relatively hostile.(69) Support for the doctrine of the Bodily Assumption was provided by a treatise on the Assumption, attributed to Augustine, but a product of Scholastic argument, which claimed that rationally the Virgin must have been assumed into heaven. Earlier writings had maintained silence on this subject because of lack of scriptural authority. Indeed both

Eadmer's tract on the Immaculate Conception and that of Pseudo-Augustine on the Bodily Assumption gave precedence to logical argument over biblical evidence.(70)

In the sphere of exegesis, two biblical texts, passages from which had already appeared in Marian liturgy, were given a full Marian intepretation. The Shulamite in the Song of Songs who had traditionally been identified with the Church was identified with the Virgin in commentaries by Rupert of Deutz and Honorius of Autun, followed later in the century by Alan of Lille and William of Newburgh.(71) In a sermon written for the Octave of the feast of the Assumption, Bernard of Clairvaux, using the text from the opening of Revelation 12, identified the Woman with the face like the sun with the Virgin.(72) Here too the traditional interpretation, as Bernard acknowledges, was to compare the Woman with the Church. A parallel development in the visual arts of this period was the emergence of the image of the Coronation of the Virgin which absorbed the earlier iconography of the Coronation of Ecclesia.(73)

Marian devotion was enriched by the development of the Marian litany. Marian invocations in the Saints' litany had, by this period, become so prolix that an independent version solely dedicated to the Virgin began to develop. Its most famous type, the Litany of Loreto, survives in manuscript from the late twelfth century.(74) The Office of the Virgin, in existence certainly from the tenth century became more widely used in the eleventh. Peter Damian composed a version of it, and recommended its

universal use. Pope Urban II ordered its recital on Saturdays by all clergy. The office was to be increasingly taken up by the laity, and became the core text of the Book of Hours, otherwise known as the Primer, in the later Middle Ages.(75) The frequent appearance of the *Ave Maria* in the office ensured its widespread use. In 1215, at the Fourth Lateran Council, it was decreed that all christians should know it, along with the *Pater Noster* and the Creed.(76) The *Salve Regina*, with its appeal to the Mother of Mercy, was composed probably at the beginning of the period, and absorbed both into Cluniac and Cistercian liturgy.(77)

Perhaps the most important development at a popular level was the recording of Marian miracles, both local collections usually connected with a Marian shrine, such as Chartres, Laon or Rocamadour, and general ones. Of the latter, three collections exist made in England in the twelfth century. Earlier, such miracles might have appeared as *exempla* in sermon literature, but the importance of the twelfth century was the creation of these large collections frequently appearing in *Mariales* which included devotional writing as well as miracle accounts.(78)

This brief survey only picks out those developments relevant to the history of Marian intercessory imagery in the later centuries, and in the framework of which such imagery needs to be interpreted. It provides a starting-point.

CHAPTER ONE

ENDNOTES

1. The Virgin speaks in Luke 1:34, 38, & 46-55; Luke 2:48; John 2:3 & 5.

2. As well as Matthew 12:46-50, see Luke 2:49; John 2:4; and John 19:26.

3. For relevant passages from the second-century Protoevangelium of James see *The Apocryphal New Testament*, ed., J.K. Elliott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp 57-67.

4. See Elliott (1993) pp 691-723.

5. See Graef p.155 & pp 160-1.

6. She appears in the crucifixion in the late sixth-century Rabula Gospels. See Schiller, 2, fig. 327. See also figs. 328-32. She appears in the scene of the Ascension on one of the silver ampoules now in Monza dating from the sixth century. See Schiller, 1, fig.55.

7. For the debate at Ephesus see O'Carroll, pp 111-114.

8. For Chalcedon, see *Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique, 27 vols* (Paris: Libraire LeTouzey et ane, 1931-1972) vol 2 (1932), part 2, cols. 2190-2208. The formula appears in cols. 2194-2195.

9. Origen, *De Oratione*, trans., E.G. Jay (London: SPCK, 1954) XI & XIV, pp 111-114 & 121-126.

10. For the history of the Litany see *The New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, 17 vols (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1967-1979) 8 (1967) pp 789-791. Some pre-eleventh century litanies appear in *PL* 138 cols 885-902.

11. The papyrus fragment is now in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. See G. Giamberardini 'Il Sub tuum praesidium' e il titolo,'Theotokos' nella tradizione egiziana' in *Marianum* 31 (Rome, 1969) 324-362. O'Carroll's translation from Giamberardini's reconstruction of the text is quoted. O'Carroll p. 336.

12. Irenaeus refers to her as *advocata* in *Adversus Haereses* (*PG* 7, cols 1175-6). The controversy turns on whether the term refers in the context to intercession, or whether it simply refers to Mary's role as Second Eve.

13. *PG* 85 cols.452. Translation in O'Carroll p.189.

14. *PG* 92 cols.1335-48. For English translation see G.G. Meerseman, *The Acathistos Hymn* (Fribourg: The University Press, 1958). It was translated into Latin no later than the ninth century. See M. Huglo, 'L'Ancienne Version Latine de l'hymne Acathiste', *Museon* 64 (1951) 27-61.

15. For Jacob of Sarug see Graef pp 119-23. For Romanos see O'Carroll pp 312-4.

16. *Romanos le Melode, Hymnes*, 5 vols, Sources Chrétiennes 110 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1965) vol 2, pp 74-75. English translation quoted in O'Carroll p.187.

17. *PG* 98 col 352A. See Graef pp 145-50.

18. Elliott (1993) pp.686-7.

19. *PL* 39 col 2134. See J. Winandy, *Ambroise Autpert, Moine et Theologien* (Paris: Plon, 1953), pp38-48.

20. The prayer first appears in the eighth-century homiliary of Alan of Farfa. It is then used in Ambrose Autpert's Sermon on the Assumption. It became associated with the authorship of Augustine of Hippo. It is absorbed into liturgy, for example in a ninth-century Carolingian office, an eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon office, amd the Sarum Marian office. See H. Barré, *Prières Anciennes de l'Occident a la Mère du Sauveur* (Paris: Letheilleux, 1963) pp 42, 44,61,134-5; M. Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp 68-73; *Breviarum Ecclesiae Sarum*, eds., F. Proctor & C. Wordsworth, 3 vols., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1879) 2, cols 304 & 305.

21. See *Ambrosii Autperti Opera*, ed., R. Webster, 3 vols, CC (1979) vol 3, pp 883-884 & 885-890, pp 983-1002, pp 1025-1036.

22. For Augustine of Hippo see Barre (1963), pp21-24; the suckling motif appears in Fortunatus' hymn *O Gloriosa Femina* which features in the office for

the feast of the Annunciation. Despite the extravagant praise of his *In laudem sanctae Mariae Virginis et Mater Domini*, an intimate note is struck by his frequent invocation of the Virgin in this poem as "mother" (*PL* 88 cols 276-284).
There appear to be two images of suckling women in the catacombs of Priscilla dating from the third and fourth century. One, if not both, represents the Virgin and Child. See P. du Bourget, *Early Christian Painting*, trans., S.W. Taylor (London: Contact Books, 1965) pl. 67 & 70.

23. The passage first appears in one of Alan of Farfa's sermons. See Barré (1963), p.40. Autpert uses it in his sermon for the Feast of the Assumption.

24. Part of Autpert's sermon which includes the *'felicia oscula'* passage appears as an optional reading in the Sarum Marian office. See Proctor & Wordsworth (1879) II, col. 311.

25. Barré (1963) p.86.

26. Clayton (1990) pp 110-111

27. *The Blickling Homilies*, ed. and trans., R. Morris, EETS OS 73 (1880) Sermon for Easter Day, pp 94-95.

28. *The Exeter Book*, ed. and trans., I. Gollancz, EETS OS 104 (1895), *Christ*, part 3, The Day of Judgement, lines 1513-1514.

29. 1 Timothy 2:5

30. *PG* 85, col.444 A&B. For the Virgin's mediation see O'Carroll pp 238-45.

31. Meersseman (1958) p.59

32. Meersseman (1958) p.35

33. Meersseman (1958) pp 59 & 67

34. Hermann of Tournai (d.c.1147) seems to have been the first to use the 'neck' metaphor. See *Tractatus de incarnatione Jesus Christi* (*PL* 180, col.30). Bernard of Clairvaux (d.1153) introduced the image of the 'aqueduct' in a sermon for the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin. *Sancta Bernardi Opera*, eds., J. Leclercq OSB & H. Rochais, 8 vols (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957-1977) 5 (1968) pp. 275-288.

35. O'Carroll, pp 341-342

36. In the second sermon for the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin. *Sancti Petri Damiani Sermones*, ed., J. Lucchesi, CC (1983), p. 290, lines 602-604.

37. *Fons misericordiae* appears, for instance, in a twelfth-century Cistercian lyric. See *AH* 48, p.295. Anselm, on the other hand, in his first prayer to the Virgin descibes her as bringing forth the *fons... misericordiae*. *See Anselmi Opera Omni*, ed., F.S. Schmitt , 6 vols, (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1946-1961) 3 (1946) p.14, lines 38-39. *Mater Misericordiae* was popularised when it was incorporated into the opening line of the *Salve Regina*. See chapter 7.

38. See Barré (1963), pp 299 & 303.

39. *Pincerna veniae* appears in a late-eleventh or early-twelfth-century lyric. See *AH* 54, p.391.

40. Graef, p.48.

41. For Greek version (Pseudo-John) of story see Elliott (1993) p.707; for Latin version (Pseudo-Melito) see p.712.

42. Meersseman (1958) pp 51 & 55.

43. *PG* 98, col 352 A&B. Trans., Graef p.147.

44. Clayton (1990) pp 99-102. From the twelfth century, the Virgin's more direct involvement in the events of the Passion and Resurrection becomes an increasing preoccupation in Marian devotion.For example, through the theology of co-redemption (see chapter 3); through the popular legend that Christ went to his mother's house on Easter morning (Algermissen cols 400-411) and also *The Liber Celestis of Bridget of Sweden*, ed., R. Ellis, 2 vols, EETS 291 (1987) 1, p.462; through literature such as the thirteenth-century *Stabat Mater* and its related iconography (See F.J.E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953) pp.438-441); Schiller, 2, figs 509-521.

45. BL Arundel 60, fol. 145. See Clayton (1990) pp 114-118.

46. For examples of the Virgin's mercy being invoked in prayers see Barré (1963) pp. 47,56,69,104, & 131. See also the Advent antiphon, *Alma Redemptoris*

Mater, probably dating from the eleventh or twelfth century (*The Hymns of the Breviary and the Missal, ed., M. Britt* (New York: Denziger Bros Inc., 1948) p.65)

47. Schmitt 3 (1946) pp 13-25. For circulation of the prayers see *The Prayers and Meditations of St Anselm*, trans. Benedicta Ward (London: Penguin Books, 1973) pp. 275-287 and R.W. Southern, *St Anselm: a portrait in a landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) pp. 106-109.

48. See Southern (1990) p. 107, n.21.

49. Second prayer to the Virgin, lines 16-18. Schmitt 3 (1946) p.15. For the convention of a form of prayer in which the supplicant is self-denigrating and the one addressed exalted, see Ward (1973), pp. 53-6. For examples from the tenth century see Barré (1963) pp 92-93 & 115.

50. Second prayer to the Virgin, lines 45-48. Schmitt 3 (1946) p.16.

51. Third prayer to the Virgin, lines 120-122. Schmitt 3 (1946) p.23.

52. Third prayer to the Virgin, lines 101-102. Schmitt 3 (1946) p.22.

53. *De Excellentia Virginis Mariae*, *PL* 159, cols. 557-80. Throughout the Middle Ages this tract was attributed to Anselm. See R.W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (London: The Cresset Library, 1987) p.228, n.3.

54. *PL* 159 col 579B.

55. *PL* 159 col 570A. Anselm also refers to the efficacy of the Virgin's merits to win grace for her protegees in the third prayer to the Virgin, (Schmitt 3 (1946) p.19 lines 45-46), but does not draw Eadmer's conclusions.

56. Ward (1973) p.62.

57. From 1134 all Cistercian churches were dedicated to the Virgin. Inscribed above the door of the church at Citeaux were the words: *Salve Sancta Parens Sub Qua Cisterciensis Ordo Militat*. M. Aubert, *L'architecture Cistercienne en France* (Paris: Vanoest, 1947) p.23. The first allusion to Mary as the special patroness of the Order appears in the records of the chapter of 1281, and the instruction

that the image of the Virgin should be carved on every official seal of all Cistercian monasteries was issued by the General Chapter of 1325. See L. Lekai, *The White Monks (Okauchee, Wisconsin: Cistercian Fathers of Our Lady of Spring Bank,* 1963) p.151. The Virgin's protection, which the order claimed,is illustrated in the vision recorded by the Cistercian, Caesar von Heisterbach, in the early thirteenth century in which the Virgin is seen sheltering Cistercians under her cloak. See Caesar von Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraclulorum*, ed. J. Strange, 2 vols (Bruxelles: H. Lempertz & Comp., 1851) 2, ch.59. The image was adopted on some Cistercian seals from the mid fourteenth century. See P. Perdrizet, *La Vierge de la Misericorde: étude d'un thème iconographique* (Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1908) p.24.

58. For the circulation of Marian texts in the later Middle Ages under the name of Bernard, see J. Leclercq, 'St Bernard et la dévotion médiévale envers Marie' in *Revue Ascetique et de Mystique*, 30 (1954) 361-75 (p.374). By the same author see also *Études sur St Bernard et le texte de ses écrits (Rome, 1953)* p.12 & pp.187-90.

59. *Il Paradiso*, Canto 33.

60. The association between Bernard's Marian devotion and the cult of courtly love can be seen in the tradition, established by the late medieval period, that honoured Bernard as the instigator of *Notre Dame* as a mode of address for the Virgin. See D. Nogues, *Mariologie de Saint Bernard* (Paris: Editions Casterman, 1947) p.197.

61. Rochais (1968) 5, p.262.

62. Rochais (1968) 5, p.263.

63. See n.34 above.

64. See especially chapters 4 and 7.

65. Included amongst the Cistercians of the twelfth century who made significant contributions to Mariology would be Aelred of Rievaulx, Adam of Perseigne, Herman of Runa and Alan of Lille. Also, two figures associated with Bernard, his biographer, Arnold of Bonneval, and his erstwhile novice, Amadeus of Lausanne.

66. Graef, pp 244-247

67. *Sic illa colligit dispersos.* See *Amadée de Lausanne, Huit Homélies Mariales*, ed., G. Bavaud (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1960) p.215. The sentiment corresponds to the passage describing the shepherd seeking the lost sheep in Matthew 18:12.

68. The transfer of passages or images usually associated with Christ to the Virgin is not unusual and is a theme of the following pages. See especially chapters 2, 6 and 7. For an example in which an event in the Virgin's life is presented as directly corresponding to one in Christ's there is a passage in the writing of the thirteenth-century Franciscan, Peter John Olivi. He says that the Virgin was crucified with Christ when she passed from Virginity to Divine Maternity. Cited in Graef p.291.

69. For the development of teaching on the Immaculate Conception in the Middle Ages see *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, 7, pp 674-681.

70. For the development of teaching on the Assumption see M. Jugie, *L'Assomption de la Sainte Vierge*, Studi e Testi 114 (1944). A famous example of an argument from reason rather than from biblical authority would be Eadmer's defence of the Immaculate Conception in the words *potuit,voluit, fecit*. PL 159 col 305.

71. The earliest Marian intepretations of the Song of Songs can be found in the writings of Rupert of Deutz (d. c.1135) in *PL* 168, cols 837-962 and Honorius of Autun (d.1136) in *PL* 172, cols 495-518. See Graef pp 226-229 & pp 256-59: O'Carroll p.174 & pp 327-328. For fuller accounts see Denys Turner, *Eros and Allegory: Medieval Exegesis of the Song of Songs in the High Middle Ages, Cistercian studies series no.156 (Kalamazoo, 1995) and Rachel Lee Fulton, The Virgin Mary and the Song of Songs in the High Middle Ages* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Columbia University, 1994).

72. For a sixth-century Greek Marian interpretation of Revelation 12 see Graef pp 131-132. For twelfth-century Western intepretations see chapter 6.

73. For the development of the iconography of the Coronation of the Virgin see M-L Thérel, *A L'origine du décor du portail occidental de Notre-Dame de Senlis: le triomphe de la Vierge-Église. Sources historiques, littéraires et iconographiques* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1984); P. Verdier, *Le Couronnement de*

la Vierge: Les origines et les premiers développements d'un thème iconographique (Montrëal: Institut d'Études Médiévales, 1980)

74. See n.10 above.

75. For a Middle English version of the Marian office and an essay on its development see *The Prymer*, ed., H. Littlehales, EETS OS 105 (1895) and EETS OS 109 (1897) with an essay by E. Bishop.

76. The first decree of the Fourth Lateran Council included the *Ave Maria* as part of the profession of faith which should be taught by the parish priest. For the council and the adoption of its decrees in England see M. Gibbs & J. Lang, *Bishops and Reform* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934) pp 122-123 & p.180.

77. The date and authorship of the *Salve Regina* are unknown, but may date from the late eleventh century. It was a processional chant at Cluny by c.1135. For bibliography see O'Carroll p.317.

78. See Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event 1000-1215*, (London: Scolar Press, 1982), pp.132-165 and R.W. Southern, 'The English Origins of the Miracles of the Virgin', *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 4 (1958), 176-216.

CHAPTER TWO

IMAGES OF THE VIRGIN WITH DEVOTEES IN PRAYER

Sciendum autem est quod salvatoris ymago tribus modis convenientibus in ecclesia depingitus, videlicet aut ut residens in trono, aut ut pendens in crucis patibulo, aut ut residens in matris gremio

Wit thou for certain that whoso lufes and wirshipes mi son loues and wirshipes me, for I lufed him with swilke fervour that we ware both as we had bene one: (1)

.

Extant Marian intercessory imagery falls loosely into two categories of which one shows individuals appealing to Mary for intercession, and the other shows her interceding to God on behalf of humanity generally. In chapters two and three these will be examined in turn.

The image of the Virgin accompanied by a figure in prayer becomes increasingly commonplace in religious art of the Middle Ages.(2) It can be assumed that what is being expressed by this group of images approximates to the content of prayer literature of the same period. Broadly speaking prayer may consist of one or all of the following elements: veneration, thanksgiving, and petition. Intercession is a kind of petition in which the Saint is asked to pray on the devotee's behalf.(3) A corresponding image may then convey the same elements, though frequently an accompanying inscription will guide the modern observer in assessing the dominant meaning of

the image. Such an inscription may, for instance, indicate that the Virgin is being addressed as an intercessor.(4)

An examination of some representative examples of such images, some explicitly intercessory and some not, will establish the characteristics of the attitudes towards the Virgin as an object of prayer. By studying how she is being addressed, how she is represented, and the posture and words, where they are given, of the supplicant, a trend may be discerned in the development of these attitudes. The study will focus on images of Mary explicitly addressed as an intercessor, but other examples will provide a context through which the meaning of such images may be amplified.

Such images represent private prayer. In most cases only one or two devotees or, in later medieval art, a family or discrete social group are depicted.(5) They therefore express a personal relationship which in itself influences the context in which such images are found. They may, for instance, appear on objects which represent a personal gift or on a funerary monument.

The expression of a relationship possibly underlies the function of this iconography. Many devotional images of the Virgin, for example, would have been used as the object of prayer on the part of the observer.(6) In such examples the prayerful relationship straddles the real world and the depicted world. When both Saint and devotee are represented, the same relationship is immortalised. It

is as though the image of the supplicant deputises for the person it depicts. Two examples taken from the late middle ages may demonstrate contemporary consciousness of this function for such images. The mid-fourteenth-century wall-paintings on the east wall of the royal chapel of St Stephen at Westminster flanked the high altar, the retable of which very probably had a Marian theme.(7) The wall-paintings extended the space illusionistically of the chapel itself, consisting of painted three-dimensional Gothic niches in which members of the royal family were depicted praying towards the high altar. The frequenters of the chapel thereby were given a permanent presence, and their prayers a permanent voice. A similar motive can be perceived behind certain types of funerary art. A fifteenth-century wall-painting in the crypt of Bayeux cathedral in Lower Normandy is placed in a niche above the effigy of a canon. The painting shows the kneeling canon addressing the Virgin and Child with a petitionary prayer inscribed on a phylactery. The image contributes to the maintainance of the cycle of intercessory prayer for the canon's own soul.(fig 3)(8)

A second point about the function of such images, and notably intercessory ones, is that the identity of the figure depicted is usually that of either the artist or the patron of the work of art in which he or she appears. (9) Inscriptions on medieval artefacts sometimes make explicit the assumption that the adornment of the church,

or the creation of books or liturgical vessels were good works which would benefit the eternal prospects of those responsible. An early-fourteenth-century Limoges figure of the Virgin and Child has an inscription which identifies the patron and the reason why the figure was made and then goes on:

Dominus Deus Jesus Christus per suam sanctam misericordiam custodiat eum in vitam eternam amen.(10)

Whilst not applying to intercessory images on funerary art, a medium which cannot be said to benefit anyone other than those it commemorates, the realisation of the artefact upon which the petitioner/donor appears is an underlying aspect of the image's function. Intercession is asked for amidst the evidence of good works. The supplicant is pictured on the object which he or she caused to be made to honour God and His church.

The posture adopted by the praying figure reflects contemporary conventions with regard to attitudes to those addressed in prayer. These fall into three main types - the orant, the *proskynesis*, and the kneeling figure with hands joined in prayer.(11) The first two are the most ancient, both indicating adoration, and the *proskynesis* being also associated with humility. The latter is a crouching, almost prostrate posture, which has its origins in Early Christian practice.(12) Neither of these two were linked, in the early medieval period, with petition,

though the *proskynesis* is often complemented by an intercessory inscription. It may be that at this time there was no convention of a petitionary posture in prayer. Eginhard, writing in the ninth century, argued that adoration may be conveyed by bodily movement because it is a one way piece of communication which may be offered via the intermediary of a material object, such as an image, towards which the gesture is directed. Prayer which asks for something and so requires a response, on the other hand, can only be relayed mentally or vocally and cannot be addressed to an image for the risk of idolatry.(13) By the twelfth century it appears that this situation was changing, and that there was developing a small repertory of petionary postures.(14) In iconography, by this date, the familiar kneeling figure, hands joined in prayer, had come to supercede the orant and the *proskynesis*. This posture, reminiscent of the feudal gesture of allegiance, conveyed a different relationship to the more ancient types, implying faith on the one hand and protection on the other.(15)

I THE VIRGIN ADDRESSED IN PRAYER IN EARLY MEDIEVAL IMAGERY

In common with Christ and with other Saints addressed in prayer, the Virgin appears in such images at this time generally with devotees prostrate in the attitude of the *proskynesis*. One of the earliest surviving western

examples features amongst a group of frescoes in the crypt of the church of S. Maria in Insula in San Vincenzo al Volturno which dates from between 824 and 842.(16) The image, with its abject figure in prayer and hierarchic representation of the Virgin, takes up the themes of veneration and humility frequently found in contemporary prayer literature. The third element usually found in Marian prayers at the time, the plea for intercession, does not explicitly appear in this example.(17)

In the absence of a posture which may be read as petitionary, the earliest unambiguous references to intercession at this time appear as complementary inscriptions to the iconography. In a tenth-century sacramentary from Worms (Paris, Bibliotheque d'Arsenal ms 610, fol. 25) a personal appeal is made by the man who identifies himself as the donor of the book:

Virgo Maria tuus hunc librum dat tibi servus
Abbas Ruofretus Prumiensis nomine dictus.
Respice reddentem tibi iureque vota voventem,
Tu pia placatum faciasque tuum sibi natum (18)

Here, the accompanying image does not replicate the inscription. Ruotfried does not show himself praying to the Virgin. Instead the Virgin is shown undertaking the work which the abbot asks of her - the petitioning of her Son.

The two strands of adoration and petition are brought together in the Evangeliary made for Bernward, Bishop of

Hildesheim in 1015 (Hildesheim, Dom und Diozesanmuseum Hildesheim, Inv. Nr. DS 18).(19) A double dedication page (fols 16v & 17) inside represents Bernward offering the book at an altar.(fig.4) Behind the altar, on the opposite page, the enthroned, crowned Virgin is depicted, holding the child on her lap in a formal, hierarchic pose - an iconographic type known as the *Sedes Sapientiae*.(fig.5)(20) The accompanying text includes three salutations phrased in the spirit of the Akathistos hymn, which praise her exclusively for her role in the Incarnation. She is a star who is lit up by the brightness of her offspring, she is a container for Christ, and the door through which He, uniquely, enters into the world.(21) These three inanimate objects are drawn from a repertory of such images, often trawled from the Old Testament, which were employed, especially by Byzantine writers, to salute the Virgin Mother of God(22) In this there is no room for viewing her as an individual being. The image which Bernward addresses is entirely fitting to the sentiments of the inscription which, in each case, praises the relationship of the mother and child, but which extols neither individually.

The petitionary aspect of the Marian iconography appears on the book cover. The front shows the Virgin petitioning the Judge in a conventional Byzantine *Deesis* composition, a type further discussed in chapter three. The back shows a standing Virgin and Child in an engraved

frame again identifying Bernward as the donor.(fig.6) The figure is enclosed by four metal letters attached to the surface of the cover which spell out the discreet mnemonic, drawn from the litany: O. P. M. V. (*Ora Pro Me Virgo*). The position and the spirit of this personal, almost secretive plea for intercession may be significant. It appears on the back of the book, a hidden place. It also marks the end of the text, as the petition in contemporary prayer comes at the end after the words of veneration which, in the case of the Evangeliary, appear inside the book.

About thirty years later another evangeliary was presented by Henry III to the cathedral church of Speyer, dedicated to the Virgin (Escorial, ms Vitr.17).(23) The manuscript contains a double dedicatory page (fols 2v & 3). On one side the emperor's parents crouch down in a quasi-posture of *proskynesis* before a figure of Christ in Majesty. On the other the Virgin is enthroned alone blessing Henry's wife with her left hand and accepting the book from the emperor with her right. The respective inscriptions which frame these pictures offer penitence to Christ and ask for pardon and reward, whilst the Virgin is offered the book and is importuned to be the family's helper (*adiutrix*) and protectress (*fautrix*). Christ and the Virgin are represented separately, and no reference is made to the wonder of the Incarnation. The inscriptions, in fact, use hardly any terms of veneration, which alone

is implied by the posture of the supplicants. The role of the Virgin as intercessor is made explicit, and a further nuance is added in that in this role she is also asked to be a protector.

These early medieval examples demonstrate through an interplay of word and image various aspects of Marian intercession, which is on the whole corroborated by the wider evidence of contemporary Marian prayer. The veneration of the Virgin is apparent in the posture of the figure in prayer and sometimes, as in Bernward's book, echoed in the inscription. The offering of the work of art which the image adorns in the hope of winning the Virgin's prayers of intercession is made explicit in all three manuscripts. The manuscripts from Speyer and Worms have inscriptions in which Mary is asked to protect the petitioners on the one hand and placate her Son on the other. In both these examples she is represented alone without holding the Christ-child. The role of one who protects and placates suggests, in this context, a figure in dialogue with God rather than one who complements His image. In Bernward's evangeliary, on the other hand, the image of Virgin and Child is the subject of a panegyric on the Incarnation. The same image is then transferred to the back of the book where the Virgin alone is addressed in the accompanying inscription and asked for intercession. This arrangement implies a contemporary understanding of the image of the Virgin and Child as representing an event

rather than two people. It also suggests that Mary's perceived power as an intercessor was directly linked to her role in the Incarnation.

II GOTHIC IMAGES OF PETITIONS TO THE VIRGIN

From the middle of the twelfth century the image of the Virgin and Child underwent a fundamental change, inspired by developments in Byzantine art.(24) This resulted in an iconography which, in general terms, focus ed on the mutual bond between mother and child. It conveyed this bond in terms of human relationships and the protagonists came to be represented also in a way which reflected the human world, notably the dramatic rejuvenation of Christ to a recognisable infant.

The bonding, even fusion, portrayed in the early medieval Virgin and Child group was achieved through the typical iconographic type in which no relationship was evoked between the two figures and in which their physical separateness was understated. These characteristics were abandoned in the Gothic type, and different iconographic means were adopted to serve similar ends. Hence the emphasis on the strength of the emotional bond, a bond with which observers could identify. The development of tendencies which had their roots in early medieval art such as mirroring and the transferral of iconographic identifying attributes served the same purpose and

increased the potential for making visual points about the Virgin's role in God's work. If Mary reflected an iconographic type associated with Christ or was represented with attributes associated with her Son, or vice-versa, then the significance and implications of their relationship were high-lighted.

On the other hand the Gothic Virgin and Child differed from its predecessors in representing a relationship, which implies a dialogue. Whilst continuing to emphasise bonding therefore, this type also increased the tendency to see the group as two separate beings. If her role in the Incarnation was based on a relationship of bonding, her role as an intercessor was based on one of dialogue. An iconography which enabled her to be considered independently though not separately is an important development in assessing her medieval role as intercessor.

As a means of tracking these developments an image which was drawn in the mid thirteenth century represents a transitional phase which looks both backwards and forwards in its iconographic features. A monumental drawing of the Virgin and Child with a self-portrait of its artist, Matthew Paris, appears in a manuscript of his *Historia Anglorum* (BL ms Royal 14 c vii.fol.6) produced at the abbey of St Albans between 1250 and 1259 where he was a monk.(fig.7)(25) The artist depicts himself at Mary's feet in an attitude of *proskynesis*, an anachronistic posture

for this period though possibly adopted to underline his status as a Benedictine.(26) The air of humility as well as veneration is intensified by the simplicity of his monastic habit. A tinted inscription in majuscule above his back identifies him, whilst he himself faces a longer inscription which is addressed to the Virgin. It was added by the scribe of the chronicle after the picture was completed and celebrates the relationship between the mother and child, marvelling at the paradox that this child also rules as the Son of God.

This is not an explicitly petitionary image, nor is it one in which Matthew Paris openly declares his participation in the production of the book, although this is clear from the other pages. The inscription is drawn from Ambrose Autpert's sermon written for the Feast of the Assumption of which this passage was absorbed into the monastic office for that feast. It is quoted in chapter one.(27) As in Bernward of Hildesheim's Evangeliary, so here the Incarnation is the subject of Matthew Paris' adoration. The formality of Bernward's salutations and the impersonal metaphors he adopts in his addresses contrasts strongly with the language used in the St Albans manuscript. Drawing on an equally ancient strand of Marian piety, the later inscription creates awe by setting the extraordinariness of the Incarnation in the ordinariness of a domestic, humanly warm setting. It takes an historic approach to the role of the Virgin rather than the

symbolic one adopted in the words in the evangeliary.

Clearly the accompanying drawing provides a visual counterpart to this literary style as the romanesque Virgin and Child of the Bernward manuscript does in relation to that inscription. Mary, crowned and nimbused, is frontally seated, supporting her Son in her left arm, and holding a red apple in her right hand. Christ, of childlike proportions, is cross-nimbused, pulling Mary's face towards Him with His left hand, and grasping at the apple with His right. He appears to kiss her cheek. The human nature of God is prominently conveyed given this kind of treatment which brings His mother, attribute of that humanity, more to the fore. The balance between divine and human in this image is maintained in symbolic details, conventional at the time, such as the cross-nimbus, the apple, and the crowning and enthroning of the Virgin. A literal reading of this image would yield an impression of a large, adult mother with a small child who is openly affectionate towards her, whilst she is more detached in her attitude towards him. A symbolic reading would range through the story of divine purpose from the Fall (the apple), through the Incarnation (Virgin and Child), Passion, Redemption (cross-nimbus), and to the salvation of humankind represented by the glorified Virgin crowned and enthroned. The comparatively realistic style of such images enabled them to be read in a literal way which, in the case of the Virgin and Child, had an impact

on the perceived role of Mary in her relationship with Christ as mother and intercessor. Such a reading was not possible with the earlier iconographic types.

The Missal of Henry of Chichester (Manchester. John Rylands University Library. ms lat.24) is directly contemporary with Matthew Paris' *Historia Anglorum*. Painted for a high-ranking clergyman by the Sarum Master, one of the leading artists of the day, and given in 1277 to Exeter Cathedral, this was clearly an important and highly-valued book at the time, known and used by those who were representative of the thirteenth-century English church establishment(28). One full-page image (fol.150) represents Henry on one knee before the Christ child seated on the lap of the enthroned Virgin.(fig.8) Both figures are nimbused, Christ's nimbus with a cross inscribed on it. Henry holds a phylactery in his hand with the words: *Fili dei miserere mei*. Christ touches the other end of it, and with His other hand appears to be touching an object, difficult to identify, which might be a later addition. Mary also seems to be touching the same object with her right hand which also, however, appears to be held up in the gesture of blessing. The three figures are therefore visually linked up, with Christ as the axial figure.

This image develops the heady mix of textual and iconographic layers of meaning which have been noted in the Matthew Paris drawing, adding nuances to the role of

the Virgin in such a group. The inscription is openly petitionary. Henry directly addresses Christ, textually as the Son of God and visually as the Son of Mary. The image complements the words to make an intact Christological statement. The manuscript in which the composition appears is a missal, a text which was rarely illuminated in the Gothic period. It is perhaps not surprising then to find sacerdotal overtones in the iconography. Henry kneels on one knee only, not a posture of prayer, but one which when adopted by a priest refers to the liturgical gesture made before the holy sacrament.(29) Thus Henry not only honours a human and divine God, but also one who is ever present in the sacrament. The Virgin responds with a gesture of blessing, the type associated with divine or pontifical blessing.

Although there are examples in romanesque art of Mary blessing, the origin of which may be connected with the Virgin's role as a symbol of the Church, this specific gesture is unusual.(30) The response to Henry's plea for mercy comes from that part of the image of the Godhead which represents His humanity and thus His potential to be merciful. The integrated reading of Virgin and Child and their link with Henry is emphasised by the way the figures are visually joined up in the composition. Virgin and Child as a representation of the divine, is further evoked in the three little lions who gambol around the base of Mary's throne, an echo of the lions flanking the throne of

Solomon in the romanesque *Sedes Sapientiae* type.(31)

The realistic style of the painting, however, invites the observer to interpret the picture also in a more literal way. Henry may be seen to be addressing two people, one of whom, an adult female is making a gesture usually associated with divine, priestly, or possibly paternal figures. It is an example of an iconographic characteristic shifting from Christ to the Virgin, which simply makes a Christological point when the two figures are considered as one entity. As an independent figure, the Virgin blessing a petitioner is siginificant for her perceived powers as an intercessor.(32)

A similar composition in another Sarum Master manuscript, the so-called Amesbury Psalter (Oxford, All Souls ms 6.fol.4) is, on analysis, more Marian in tone, but still presenting the same iconographic ambiguity. This time the devotee depicted is female and adopts the conventional posture of prayer by this period - hands joined and kneeling on both knees.(fig.9) Such a posture is appropriate in a psalter - the standard prayer book at the time, until it was superceded by the primer.

The Amesbury Psalter, like the missal, also represents an example of an iconographic shift, in the form of the serpent and lion which appear under the Virgin's feet. This feature had first appeared in Anglo-Saxon and Carolingian art as Christ treading the beasts underfoot, an allusion to Ps.91,13:

Super apsidem, et basilicum ambulabis: et conculcabis leonem et draconem

The specific reference first appears in Marian iconography in romanesque art, becoming increasingly common in the gothic period.(33) The transferral of Christological texts and types to the Virgin can also be found in theological writing of the period.(34)

The inscription in the Amesbury Psalter directly addresses the Mother, hailing her in the words of the angelic salutation. It further focuses on the Incarnation in its inclusion of a motif which was still comparatively novel in western art, the suckling Virgin. This iconographic type had only re-emerged in Western art as an independent image in the twelfth century. The earliest extant example appears on a Jesse Tree in, significantly given the contribution of the Cistercian Order to the development of the cult of the Virgin, a lectionary from Citeaux (Dijon, Bibliotheque Municipale, ms 641, fol.40v). It became popular in English art from the early thirteenth century.(35) Not only does the image of the mother suckling her child visually bond the two individuals more closely, but the impression of Mary bestowing her humanity upon her son is particularly strongly emphasised in this image, given the general medieval belief that milk was transmuted blood.(36)

A similar type appearing in a late-thirteenth-century psalter and hymnal from the North of England (Bod.

ms Laud Lat.5. fol.11) combines the image of the suckling mother with an explicit plea, not for intercession, but for the Virgin to bestow her mercy on the petitioner. The image and inscription accompany the text of the ancient prayer, Salve Sancta Parens, which celebrates in awe the paradox of the Incarnation.(37) Although there is no praying figure in this example, the inscription is in the form of a prayer, addressing the Virgin using a string of extravagant epithets, before calling on her mercy.(38) Here another shift is taking place. The invocation usually addressed in the Litany to the Trinity is here directed exclusively towards Mary. The example demonstrates the proximity of the two Marian interpretations of such a scheme, as a figure who represents the humanity and therefore the mercy of God particularly evident in the prayer and the image, and as an independent source of mercy evident in the inscription.

The type appears again in a compilation of devotional and philosophical writings made for Roger of Waltham, Canon of St Pauls, between 1325 and 1335 (Glasgow. University Library.ms Hunter 231 (U.3.4) p.89).(fig.10) The anthology includes a number of Marian writings, as well as philosophical and other devotional works.(39) It was quite exceptional at this time that such a manuscript should be illuminated, and it can be assumed that Roger either chose, or was at least consulted about the choice of illustrations.(40) The artist, who has been identified

with the chief artist of the Taymouth Hours, executed seventeen pictures for the book, all thematically linked with the texts they accompany. Of these, eight include images of the Virgin Mary, seven of which also feature Roger in prayer with an accompanying inscription, although in one case the cleric is not explicitly identified as Roger. The repertory of Marian iconography is broad, including, as well as the Virgin suckling or so-called Maria Lactans, an Assumption, Mary pierced by the sword of Simeon's prophecy in a crucifixion scene, a Coronation, and the Virgin exposing her breast to Roger. The patron therefore, a sophisticated churchman who possibly occupied an elevated position at court, and a scholar, was clearly also a man with a strong devotional attachment to the Virgin.(41)

The illustrations include a variation on the theme of the *Maria Lactans*. This type shows the Virgin, instead of suckling Christ, exposing her breast either to Him or to the observer. In this manuscript the crowned Virgin, seated, supports her breast with her right hand, and Christ with her left, who is standing on her knee and blessing Roger who is kneeling opposite in a position of prayer. This iconography is related to an image which had been developing in English art from the mid thirteenth century in which Mary intercedes to the Judge bare-breasted.(42) By the early fourteenth century therefore it would have been associated with the Virgin's powers as an

intercessor. It is rooted, however, in images appearing from the twelfth century which show the Virgin exposing her breast in the context of scenes relating to Christ's birth, and so it also makes the connection with the Incarnation. At Moissac, for instance, the Visitation scene on the south porch, dating from c.1125, depicts both Mary and her cousin Elizabeth exposing a breast to each other to indicate that they are with child.(fig.11)(43) A mid-thirteenth-century Parisian ivory in the Louvre shows the detail as part of a nativity scene. Here the child appears to draw back Mary's dress in order to expose the breast which His mother supports in her right hand.(fig.12)(44) A twelfth-century tympanum, formerly part of the Burgundian church of Anzy-le-Duc, gives a particularly telling example.(fig 13) Below a representation of Christ glorified, the image, composed similarly to the Louvre ivory, appears flanked by saints, so providing a contrast between the divine aspect of God above with the human one below.(45)

The connection between the Virgin's breast as expressing the humanity of God and His mercy can also be seen in twelfth century literature. A prayer attributed to Maurille, a twelfth century archbishop of Rouen, calls on the Virgin to respond to the:

...multa supplicia revertentem ad ubera consolationis tuae.(46)

The image in Roger of Waltham's manuscript exemplifies the late medieval version of this iconography. Represented independently, like the *Maria Lactans*, it was an obvious focus for calls for intercession. Two virtually identical stained glass panels in the Worcestershire churches of Fladbury and Warndon which date from the 1330s also represent the type, except there is no petitioner, and Christ, seated, turns towards His mother whom He blesses instead.(fig.14) In His other hand He holds the familiar apple,·symbol of the fall from grace which He has come to redeem.(47) A free-standing alabaster Virgin and Child made in the second half of the century and now in the museum at Nottingham departs from these types by having Christ rather than Mary holding and thereby exposing the breast to the onlooker.(fig.15)(48)

The only full-page illumination in Roger of Waltham's manuscript depicts the Coronation of the Virgin accompanied by Roger in prayer, and framed and interconnected by a lengthy inscription.(fig.16) In some ways this descends from the type represented in the Worms manuscript discussed above, though it is more comprehensively set out.(49) The eleventh-century example shows a plea for intercession in an inscription and an image which represents the Virgin interceding to Christ. The Coronation visually shows Roger praying to Mary and she in turn interceding, whilst the inscriptions relay their words of prayer. The text and the image work in

tandem. The composition illustrates Hugh of St Victor's tract on the Concord of Mercy and Truth, Justice and Peace. As will be shown in chapter seven, the association of these virtues from Psalm 85 with the image of the Coronation had already been made in English art.(50) The tract, the inscription and the image take reconciliation as their theme.

The iconography of the Coronation of the Virgin had developed in the twelfth century in the theological context of the establishment of the doctrine of the Assumption and the Marian interpretation of the Song of Songs.(51) It is not unusual to find the Coronation accompanied by praying figures, but the Hunterian example is rare in the complexity of its inscriptions, and provides a useful insight into the significance of this image as a focus for intercessionary prayer for a contemporary churchman.(52) The composition is contained within a mandorla-shaped framework which comprises a prayer in praise of the Incarnation, and the Virgin's coronation in heaven:

Quid plus mirans verbum carnem specularis
In violata paris partu quasi pane ciberis.
Virgo coronata Christi Mater quia beata
Nunc exaltata super astra deo sociata

The familiar celebration of the Incarnation is here complemented by the reference to Mary's glorification in heaven, so celebrating the mirroring process of the Son

coming to earth and the Mother going to heaven. The sense of completeness and symmetry suggested by the words is echoed in the design in which the Virgin and Christ sit side by side enclosed by the frame. Christ is crowned, holding an orb representing the world in his hand, surmounted by a cross, sitting to Mary's left and placing a crown on her head. She is seated with her hands in prayer and is linked to Roger, kneeling in prayer at the bottom of the page by an inscription which is divided in two. The bottom part is Roger's prayer to the Virgin which acknowledges her presence in heaven, and then asks that he too may have a place there.(53) The top part of the inscription shows the Virgin's response in the form of a petition to her Son that what is hers might also be His.(54) The Virgin speaks on behalf of one whom she acknowledges as "mine" (*meus*) and asks her Son that Roger might be adopted as "yours" (*tuus*).(55)

The implications of the image of the Coronation makes it an appropriate context for Mary as intercessor. The inscription which surrounds the composition further compounds the atmosphere of reconciliation by remarking upon the cyclical notion of Christ coming to earth and Mary going to heaven. The other inscription clearly shows the intercessory procedure with its petition to Mary and her consequent prayer to Christ. Visually, in contrast to the Virgin and Child group, the Coronation lays emphasis on Mary as Queen and Bride rather than mother.(56) Whilst

these two titles evolved from symbolic ideas used in exegesis and liturgy, there is also plenty of evidence that in the Gothic period they were understood literally. (57) On this level the Coronation presents us with a Saint uniquely raised body and soul to heaven where she is made consort of the God who, on earth was her Son.(58) The scene with its underlying symbolic and literal implications sums up Mary's position as pre-eminent intercessor in the late Middle Ages.

Images in which the Virgin is addressed by a figure in prayer demonstrate in their iconography and their accompanying texts that her importance as an intercessor is rooted in her role in the Incarnation. In both situations the Virgin is relating to the Godhead. In one she is bonded and in the other she enters into dialogue with Him. The Incarnation is iconographically conveyed in the image of the Virgin and Child. This unified group shows God made human and so the Virgin may be said to be an attribute of that human nature. Since the Incarnation is the witness of divine mercy, she may also be said to represent that aspect of the divine. The romanesque type of the Virgin and Child, the so-called *Sedes Sapientiae*, emphasises the integral nature of the image by understating individual charateristics. The gothic approach, evident in this type from the mid twelfth century, adopts an iconography which, by contrast, emphasises the human relationship inherent in the group.

The resulting imagery involves individuation and dialogue and so becomes less visually unified. The integral nature of the Incarnation is expressed in the gothic period in an emotional rather than visual way, by stressing the close tie between mother and child. At the same time devices such as mirroring and iconographic transference are developed to remind the observer of the link between the Virgin and Christ.

The person then whom Bernward, Henry, and Roger petitions is both a representation of God Incarnate and the Virgin Mary. As an intercessor, however, the Virgin has to be addressed as a person who potentially is able to take up a stance independent from that of her Son. The gothic iconography of the Virgin and Child expresses this potential visually. The next chapter will examine the implications of this independence in the image of the Virgin as intercessor.

CHAPTER TWO

ENDNOTES

1 William Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, ed., A. Davril & T.M. Thoibodeau, CC 140 (1995) p. 37; *The Liber Celestis of Bridget of Sweden*, ed.R. Ellis, 2 vols, EETS 291 (1987), I, p.15.

2. A distinction may be made between figures depicted addressing the Virgin in prayer and those in which such figures accompany an episode in which the Virgin plays a part, such as the Annunciation. An example of an episode accompanied by a praying figure with an explicitly petitionary inscription appears in the early fifteenth-century Helmingham Breviary now in the Castle Museum, Norwich. An initial 'T' introducing the liturgy for the feast of the Assumption shows the scene accompanied by a praying tonsured man who carries a phylactery reading *Mater Divina Sis Roberto Medicina*. The category of images in which a figure directly addresses a figure of the Virgin generally falls into three different types - images for contemplation, notably highly emotive images such as the Virgin of Pity of the late Middle Ages; images for adoration; and those which are petitioned, which may be indicated by an inscription, the posture of the figure in prayer or the responsiveness of the figure addressed. This chapter is concerned with the last two categories.

3. See 1, Tim 2:1 for a New Testament definition of prayer.

4. Waterton, for example, lists a selection of inscriptions formerly on Lady altars which were recorded by Weever in the seventeenth century. Whilst we do not know now how the inscriptions related to the imagery with which the altars were adorned they give an impression of the range of ways in which the Virgin was invoked as intercessor and protector. E. Waterton, *Pietas Mariana Britannica* (London: St Joseph Catholic Library, 1879) 1, p.82

5. The stained glass panels at St Neot's in Cornwall, dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century show saints addressed by family groups and by social groups of young women and wives.

6. For example, an indulgence of forty days was offered by the Bishop of Durham in 1345 to those who said a *pater noster and an ave* to an image of the Virgin which then stood in a part of St Paul's Cathedral in London. Waterton (1879) 2, p.71.

7. For these wall-paintings see E.W.Tristram, *English Wall-Painting of the Fourteenth Century*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955), pp 48-58, 206-19, pls 2-6(a). For probable Marian nature of the St Stephens retable see exhib. cat., *The Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400*, eds., J. Alexander & P. Binski (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1987). cat.no.681.

8. The wall-painting appears above the tomb of canon Gervais de Larchamp in the crypt of Bayeux Cathedral. The canon is presented to the Virgin by St Michael. The canon holds a phylactery reading, *mater dei ora pro me deum*. Further phylacteries are held by flying angels above. A Trinity group surmounts the composition painted on the vault above the tomb.

9. Although sometimes figures under the protection of the donor rather than being donors themselves are depicted. In family groups, for example.

10. Exhib. cat, *L'Oeuvre de Limoges: Émaux limousins du Moyen Âge*, eds., E. Taburet-Delahaye & B. Drake Boehm (Paris: Éditions de la Reunion des musées nationaux, 1996) no. 157. For an example of an artist offering up his work with a prayer for intercession see the capitals to the north and south of the west door of the abbey church of Carennac in France. The inscription reads *Girbertus cementarius fecit istum portanum. Benedicta sit anima eius*. M.Vidal, *Quercy Roman*, Zodiaque 10 (1959).

11. For medieval postures for prayer see J-C Schmitt, *La Raison des Gestes dans l'Occident Médiéval*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1990), pp 289-309.

12. A number of depictions of figures in *proskynesis, for example*, appear on the tenth-century Joshua roll, now in the Vatican (ms Palat. gr. 431), which is largely based on early christian models.

13. Schmitt (1990) p.292.

14. Peter the Singer (d.1197) of the cathedral school of Notre Dame in Paris is credited with a tract on the positions which may be adopted in prayer. He connects the kneeling posture with palms joined together with a prayer of petition. See R.C. Trexler, *The Christian at Prayer: an illustrated prayer manual attributed to Peter the Chanter* (Binghamton, New York: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1987) p.233.

15. Schmitt (1990), pp.295-301.

16. See R. Deshmann, 'Servants of the Mother of God in Byzantine and Medieval Art', *Word and Image*, 5 (1989) 44-50

17. The Marian prayer, *Singularis Meriti*, originating in the ninth century contains veneration, self-abnegation and a plea for intercession. The prayer was widely disseminated throughout the Middle Ages. See H. Barré, *Prières Anciennes de l'Occident à la Mère du Sauveur*, (Paris: Letheilleux, 1963) pp 71-76.

18. Barre (1963) pp 107 & 208.

19. For the patronage of Bernward of Hildesheim see H. Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination: an historical study*, 2 vols (London: Harvey Miller, 1991) I, pp 88-94; Algermissen, I, cols. 734-8; Barré (1963) pp 261-262. For the evangeliary see exhib. cat. Hildesheim, Dom & Diocezanmuseum, *Bernward von Hildesheim und das zeitalter der Ottonen*, 2 vols (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1993) 2, VIII - 30; S. Beissel, *Des hl. Bernward Evangelienbuch* (Hildesheim: Druck & Verlag von August Lax, 1894).

20. The *Sedes Sapientiae* is a formal seated figure of the Virgin and Child. The earliest documented free-standing example of any size was made for the Cathedral of Clermont-Ferrand by the goldsmith, Aleaume, in the mid tenth century. A late-tenth-century drawing of it survives in a manuscript now in the municipal library at Clermont-Ferrand.

21. The first invocation derives from the Marian hymn composed in the eighth or ninth centuries, *Ave Maris Stella* (see Graef pp 174-175); the third comes from Ezechiel 46:1.

22. For example, the Ark, the Mountain, and the Sealed Fountain. A typical example of this type of writing, drawing on a wide range of such images, is the sermon delivered by Proclus in Constantinople in 428, described and extensively quoted by Graef, pp 101-102. *PG* 65, cols 680-692.

23. C.Dodwell, *The Pictorial Arts of the West* (Yale & New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993) pp 144-146, fig 134. For facsimile see A. Boeckler, *Das goldene Evangelienbuch Heinricke III* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein fur Kunstwissenschaft,1933).

24. Réau 2, part 2 pp 72-74 & pp 93-102

25. See S. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Maiora* (Cambridge: Scolar Press in association with Corpus Christi, 1987) pp 418-427; N.J.Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts 1190-1250, SMIBI* 4, 2 vols, (1987) I, no.92

26. Benedict's Rule describes the twelve steps of humilty of which the last step is that the monk should adopt a permanent posture of the head bent and eyes fixed to the ground, always mindful of how guilty he is of sin and imagining himself before the judgement seat. See *La Regle de St Benoit*, ed. and trans., H. Rochais (Paris: Desclee de Brouwer, 1980) VII, pp 42-3. This prostrate form of prayer is also associated with monastic practise in the thirteenth-century constitutions of the Benedictine monastery of Afflighem:

    Procumbes ad orationem super cubitos et genua, froccum retrorsum attrahit ne pendeat super pedes ad terram.

    Cited by Schmitt (1990) p.404, n.51.

27. See chapter 1, p.27.

28. See Morgan (1987) 2, no.100.

29. Schmitt (1990), p.300.

30. An eleventh-century example of the Virgin blessing with the flat of her palm appears in an ivory figure of the Virgin and Child now in Mainz. See M.F. Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1981), pp 31 & 157; *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen* (1993) 2, IV-7. Similarly on the twelfth-century western tympanum of S. Domingo in Soria in Castile. Here the blessing Virgin flanks an image of the enthroned God the Father holding Christ on His lap reminiscent of the *Sedes Sapientiae* type - an interesting example of two way iconographic transfer. This mode of blessing has been associated with the crowned image of *Ecclesia* whence it may have been absorbed into Marian iconography. See R.L.Fulton, *The Virgin Mary and the Song of Songs in the High Middle Ages* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Columbia University, 1994) pp 664-665 & pl.3. The specific gesture made in the Henry of Chichester Missal is usually either made by the Godhead or by a priest (see Schmitt (1990) pls. 24 & 32). An example comparable with this Virgin and Child can be seen in BN Nouv. acq. franc. fol. 58, repr. in F. Deuchler, *Gothic*, (London: Herbert Press, 1989) pl.163.

31. See Schiller, I, p.25. Morgan (1987) has an alternative interpretation.

32. Christ, conventionally represented in a child-like way in gothic Virgin and Child groups, continues to adopt this gesture of blessing. See, for example, the Wilton Diptych in the National Gallery, London.

33. There is an eleventh-century ivory example in the Bargello in Florence; thirteenth-century examples on the Coronation group on the west front of Wells Cathedral, on an ivory in Hamburg (Museum fur Kunst und Gewerbe), a wooden sculpture in Bergen (Historisk Museum); a fourteenth-century example in the De Lisle Psalter (BL Arundel ms 83/11 fol.131v). For further thirteenth-century English examples see N.J. Morgan, 'Texts and Images of Marian Devotion in Thirteenth-Century England' in *Harlaxton English Medieval Studies* I (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1991) pp 93-94. Images in which the Virgin treads down the beasts of psalm 90 are a specific category of a much larger group in which she treads down beasts of various kinds. Some of these are considered in chapter six. Marie-Louise Therel isolates three biblical sources whence the motif of the Virgin treading beasts could be taken and discusses, for example, the trawling of these texts in the iconography of the romanesque tympanum at Neuilly-en-Donjon in Burgundy which relates to passages both in Revelation and Genesis. See M-L Thèrel, *A L'origine du décor du Portail de Notre-Dame de Senlis: le Triomphe de la Vierge-Église. Sources Historiques, Littéraires et Iconographiques* (Paris: Éditions du Centre de la recherche scientifique, 1984) pp 163-165; W. Cahn, 'Le tympanum de Neuilly-en-Donjon', *CCM* 8 (1965) 351-364.

34. Some versions of the late medieval Marian psalter directly reworded the psalms so that they were addressed to the Virgin. See, for example, one attributed to Bonaventure in *The Mirror of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Psalter of Our Lady*, trans., Sr M. Emmanuel, (St Louis, MO: Herder, 1932). The thirteenth-century canon of Rouen cathedral, Richard of St Laurent, produced a version of the *Pater Noster* addressed to the Virgin in his *De Laudibus Sanctae Mariae*. Cited by Graef, p.266.

35. Other English thirteenth-century examples include wall-paintings at Great Canfield, Essex, and Stone, Kent; the St Barnabas altarpiece (Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas); the Cuerden Psalter (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 756, fol.10v). In France a

thirteenth-century example appears at the top of the west window of Reims Cathedral.

36. See C.W.Bynum, *Jesus as Mother, Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), pp 132-133. The belief is also significant in the light of the story of the pelican pecking at her breast to feed her young with her blood which appears in the Bestiary and symbolises Christ's sacrifice for humankind. See also *AH* 50 p.405 for a twelfth-century lyric which stresses the emotional power the Virgin exerts over the Son whom she has suckled: *Qui assumpsit ex te carnem/Exaudiet tuam precem;/Nihil tibi denegabit, /Quem mamilla tua pavit.*

37. The prayer originates in a passage from Sedulius' *Carmen Paschale* written in the fifth century. See Barre (1963) p.25.

38. *Ave et gaude Maria mater dei et domini nostri Jesus Christi, Regina Coeli, Domina Mundi, Imperatrix Inferni. Miserere mei et totius populi xpiam. Ave Maria.* The invocation of the *Imperatrix Inferni* was going to become particularly widespread as the middle English 'Empresse of Helle'. See chapter 7. For examples of the Virgin's mercy being invoked see chapter 1, n.46.

39. The Marian works are described as: St Augustine on the Assumption of the Virgin; Hymns to the Virgin; Meditation on the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin; St Bernard on the Compassion of the Virgin; Anselm's prayers to the Virgin. See L.F.Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385, SMIBI* 5, 2 vols (1986) 1, figs 250-254, 2, no.99.

40. See N. Thorp, *The Glory of the Page, Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts from Glasgow University Library* (London: Harvey Miller, 1987) p.79

41. Roger's Marian devotion is evident in the oratory he founded in St Paul's cathedral in the 1320s adorned with Marian imagery. See Waterton, part 2, p.71

42. This iconography is discussed in chapter 3

43. See M. Schapiro, *The Sculpture of Moissac*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), p. 115 & fig. 127.

44. See D. Gaborit-Chopin, *Les Ivoires du Moyen Âge* (Fribourg: Office du Livre, 1978) p.143, fig. 210.

45. The tympanum is now in the Musée du Hieron in Paray-le-Monial. See R. Oursel, *Bourgogne Romane*, Zodiaque 1, 8th ed., 1986, figs 121 & 122.

46. See Barré (1963), p.183.

47. See *The Age of Chivalry* (1987) nos. 472 & 473.

48. See F.W. Cheetham, *Medieval English Alabaster Carvings in the Castle Museum, Nottingham* (Nottingham, 1973) pp 18-20. Another similar example in English alabaster is in London at the Victoria and Albert Museum, A140-1946. See F.W.Cheetham, *English Medieval Alabasters* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1984) p.191. For an example in English manuscript illumination see the Sherborne Missal (BL loan ms 82, p.670) in K.L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490, SMIBI* 6, 2 vols (1996) 2, no.9. For an early-fourteenth-century Pisan example by Tino di Camaiano now in the Museo Civico in Turin, see P.Williamson, *The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection: Medieval Sculpture and Works of Art* (London: Sotheby's, 1987) p.68, fig 1.

49. A still closer visual ancestor, though not a Marian image, is in a late-tenth-century Anglo-Saxon manuscript of Gregory's Homilies on Ezekiel (Orleans, Bib. Mun. ms. 175, fol.149) in which a praying monk petitions St Benedict who, in turn, presents him to Christ. See E, Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1066, SMIBI* 2 (1976) no.43.

50. See chapter 7, part V.

51. For the iconography of the Coronation of the Virgin, see M-L Thèrel (1984): P. Verdier, *Le Couronnement de la Vierge: Les Origines et les Premiers Développements d'un Thème Iconographique* (Montreal: Institut d'Études Médiévales, 1980). For the theological background see chapter 1, n. 71.

52. For an example of the Coronation accompanied by praying figures, see the Ormesby Psalter (Bod. ms Douce 366, fol.9v) where the Beatus initial, accompanied by a bishop and a monk, is decorated with a Jesse Tree culminating in a Coronation. See also Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum ms 370 fols 1v & 2 which show images of a monk praying to an image of the Coronation followed by the Virgin interceding to Christ. (N. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts, SMIBI* 4, 2 vols (1987) 2, no.17.

53. *Regnas cum nato. Rogo regna parato.*

54. *Te rogo Christus Dominus sit tuus iste meus*

55. L.F. Sandler (1986) 2, p.110 notes that Roger is placed behind the frame, so suggesting that he, himself, is present in heaven.

56. The spousal relationship between Christ and the Virgin is sometimes expressed visually using a chin-chucking gesture associated in the Middle Ages with affection between adults. The gesture is also found in Virgin and Child groups, so pointing towards their glorified relationship in a human context. See L. Steiner, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and Modern Oblivion* (London: Faber & Faber, 1984) pp.110-115.

57. The Coronation of the Virgin as a narrative in late medieval literature locates the episode in time and space and gives it an emotional dynamic. For example, the Ostlers's play in the early-fiteenth-century text of the York Mystery Cycle which includes the Coronation. Christ says to His mother: *Ressayve this crowne, my dere darlyng/ There I am kyng, thou schalte be quene. See York Mystery Plays*, ed., L. Toulmin Smith (New York: Russell & Russell, 1963)

58. Although Enoch and Elijah in the Old Testament and John in the Apocryphal New Testament were also raised bodily to heaven. The two former appear with the Virgin on the west tympanum of the Cathedral of St Lazaire in Autun.

CHAPTER THREE

THE VIRGIN AS INTERCESSOR

Neque tunc beata virgo Maria genua flectet ante iudicem, ostendens illa ubera ad rogandum pro peccatoribus: neque beatus Joannes Baptista tunc etiam procumbet ad genua, ut intercedat pro hominibus, quemadmodum pictores depingunt forman iudicii. Sed et beata virgo et beatus Joannes tunc assidebunt supremo iudici ut etiam iudicent mundum tamquam assessores. Tunc enim amplius misericordiae non erit locus, sicut nunc, sed solummodo iustitiae.(1)

The counter-reformation Flemish scholar, Johannes Molanus, wrote a tract in the 1560s commenting on the history of Christian imagery and how it should be interpreted. His remarks here about the Virgin interceding with John the Baptist are interestingly reminiscent of the passage quoted from the late-tenth-century Blickling homilies in chapter one.(2) Both rehearse the argument that, at the Last Judgement, only justice will operate and intercession will be redundant. These are not isolated observations, but represent a view expressed generally, if not universally, by the medieval church. The subject, however, was a controversial one, and the issue whether judgement of a soul took place immediately after death or on the Final Day remained unresolved to the end of the period. (3)

Iconographic evidence from the period between the

Blickling Homilies and the publication of Molanus' book, however, gives a very different picture with regard to the efficacy of intercession at the Last Judgement. Intercessors begin to appear in Doom imagery from the tenth century, represented by the Virgin either on her own or joined by other Saints.(4) In this context the Virgin is seen to be interceding for humankind generally at the end of time. Sometimes, however, she appears in scenes in which she is more explicitly engaged with the fate of an individual. The late medieval Marian *Psychostasis* tends to be an image of this kind, which is considered in chapter five. In this chapter the development of iconography which shows Mary interceding at the Last Judgement will be considered. Her position, her posture, her companion intercessors, and the wider context of such iconography will be mapped in order to reflect developing attitudes towards the Virgin in this role.

I THE VIRGIN AND ST PETER AS INTERCESSORS IN ANGLO-SAXON ART

The Doom was a favourite subject in Anglo-Saxon art and literature.(5) An ivory panel depicting the Last Judgement which may date from as early as the eighth cantury gives an impression of the scene as it is described by the Blickling homilist and in the Anglo-Saxon poem Christ.(6) It shows a cross-haloed judge holding a scroll with an

inscription from Matthew's description of the Second Coming.(7) Below him is the General Resurrection with the re-uniting of souls, in the form of doves, with bodies, and, at the bottom to the Judge's right, the blessed are welcomed into heaven whilst, to His left, the damned are pushed into the mouth of hell. Here the vision is not disturbed by the supplications of intercessors or the machinations of devils. The omnipotent judge has made a final decision.

The earliest extant images of Christ the Judge flanked by interceding Saints, though not in a Last Judgement context, appear in European and Byzantine art dating from the ninth century. There is documented evidence that the type was established at a much earlier date(8) The Byzantine origins of this composition are indicated by the adoption of the Greek term *Deesis* by art-historians to describe this intercessory group. Whilst the Byzantine type tended to show the Virgin and John the Baptist flanking the Judge, the English examples show Mary and Peter whose importance as intercessors in Anglo-Saxon culture is attested by their appearance in a number of contemporary vernacular texts describing the Last Judgement.(9) Dedications to St Peter were the most common in the early Anglo-Saxon church. From the mid-tenth century dedications to the Virgin supplanted St Peter in popularity for the refounded monastic houses which sprang up in the wake of church reform. A number of houses were

dedicated to the Virgin and Peter. The New Minster at Winchester which produced a group of artefacts decorated with the Anglo-Saxon intercessory type had been dedicated to St Peter, but was re-dedicated to Christ, the Virgin and All Saints.(10)

Examples from Winchester dating from the late tenth and first half of the eleventh century show a number of variations on the *Deesis* theme. The charter for the New Minster of 966 (BL. Cotton ms Vespasian A. VIII. fol. 2v) shows King Edgar offering up the charter to Christ who is seated in a mandorla supported by flying angels.(fig.17) He is enthroned on a rainbow carrying a book and blessing, a pose adapted from that of the Judge as described at the beginning of the Book of Revelation.(11) St Peter and the Virgin, however, do not flank Christ, but rather stand on the ground on either side of the king. They hold attributes - a palm and a cross for the Virgin and a key and a book for Peter - and make no petitionary gestures. The image inspired later Winchester compositions with a more explicit intercessory content.

Edgar presents the charter as evidence of his good work to a figure presented in the traditional manner as the Judge. The dedication of the new foundation is to the three sacred figures depicted - Christ, the Virgin and Peter. Peter represents the apostles and the saints and is a sign of continuation, in his role as the dedicatee of the former foundation. In a slightly later New Minster

manuscript a similar iconography is adopted to commemorate a gift to the Minster. Again the donors are royal and offer their gift to the apocalyptic Judge. The eleventh century *New Minster Liber Vitae* (BL.Stowe ms.944 fol.6) is the manuscript in question, which shows Knut and his wife, Emma, giving a cross to the church, watched by a group of New Minster monks from an open arcade depicted at the bottom of the page.(fig.18) The Virgin and Peter carry similar attributes to the ones they carried in the New Minster charter, and their role with Christ as dedicatees is probably once again a factor in the iconographic interpretation. However, this time they stand on either side of Christ, and they each raise their one free hand in an intercessory gesture. Given the purpose of the manuscript, to list the names of the benefactors and those of the community resident in the Minster, it is not surprising to find in this context an intercessory spin added to the iconography. It is significant too that the only other decorated page in the manuscript appears overleaf as a continuation and depicts a double-page Last Judgement (fol.6v & 7). Peter, still carrying the key, shows the Blessed into the heavenly kingdom and attacks the devil with the same key whilst they fight over a soul.(12) Gift, intercession and final judgement are linked through the figure of Peter. The Virgin only appears in the scene depicting the donation.

Marian devotion in Anglo-Saxon England at this time

is well attested by contemporary prayers where Mary's intercession, especially at the point of death, was frequently invoked.(13) An image of the Virgin interceding is conflated with the Last Judgement in a late tenth or early eleventh century ivory panel, probably once part of a book-cover, which was found at North Elmham in Norfolk.(fig.19)(14) Peter and Mary intercede this time not to a figure based on the Judge of Revelation but to an enthroned Christ identified with the Son of Man in Matthew's description of the Second Coming, whose left hand is raised to display His wounds.(15) The cross is shown too in the second register, supported by two angels and flanked by eight other figures. The Virgin, to Christ's right, holds a book in her left hand and her other hand is raised in a gesture of intercession. She is crowned. Peter holds a book and a key. The relief is badly damaged, and whilst an inscription clearly identifies Peter and Mary, that around the mandorla is difficult to decipher. The eight figures at the bottom are also badly defaced and might represent the rest of the Apostles, which would be in keeping with the Matthean account, although the numbers are clearly wrong, or souls awaiting judgement.

The importance of this ivory is its apparent precocity in showing an image of the Judge with the instrument of His mercy - the cross, and with intercessors. It will be shown that the replacing of the

Apocalyptic Christ by the Matthean Christ was a significant stage in the development of intercessionary imagery. Once the Judge carried the visual attributes of His potential to be merciful then mercy could be shown to be sought. In common with another small group of Anglo-Saxon images, the crowned Virgin is an attribute which points to her residence in heaven. The placing of a crown on the Virgin's head in the ivory suggests the importance of this aspect of her cult in contemporary understanding of her powers as an intercessor.(16) The later development of the image of the Coronation of the Virgin was also to play its part in amplifying the significance of Marian intercessory iconography. These early English images therefore show how, even from this early date, two significant components of such iconography, had already appeared - the references to Mary as Queen of Heaven and to the Passion

II THE VIRGIN AS INTERCESSOR IN ROMANESQUE JUDGEMENT IMAGERY

The reference to the Passion in the new image of the Judge also accounts for the replacement of Peter by John the Apostle in the fully developed *Deesis* group which became standard in Western art. This was at variance with the Byzantine tradition which favoured John the Baptist. The Western type did not fully emerge until the thirteenth

century, and represents a mirroring of Crucifixion and Judgement by having the same leading protagonists in both.

In the preceding century when Doom imagery was so much in evidence in monumental sculpture, the presence of intercessors did not necessarily correspond with the prominence given to the instruments of the Passion. The south portal at Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne and the Puerta da Gloria at Santiago de Compostela both, for instance, make reference to the Crucifixion but neither features intercessors.(17) The Virgin however does appear at the head of the group of the Blessed on the west tympanum of the abbey church of Ste Foy at Conques, her hands together in prayer. On the west tympanum of the Cathedral at Autun she hovers in the background to Christ's right, advertising her presence in heaven but not apparently interceding.(fig.20) Simply her appearance in this context may have implied some sort of intercessory role on her part. It may also be significant that, given the later connection in French monumental sculpture between the Coronation and the Virgin's intercession at Judgement, that there survives a fragment of an Assumption of the Virgin which was formerly part of the composition on one of the lateral portals of the Cathedral.(18) Yet, as it survives, reference to the Virgin's intercession in the sculpture at Autun is understated. This is corroborated by the stern words of the inscription which refers to the Judge's exclusive powers to reward and punish, and the

impression from the iconography that the resurrected are already judged in advance.(19)

Some years earlier than Autun, in western France, the west facade of St Jouin-de-Marne in Haut Poitou was constructed.(20) Its gable also depicts the Last Judgement but conveys a very different spirit to Autun, giving an early example in monumental art of Mary playing an active intercessory role in the process of Judgement. The figure of the Judge, with his hands flat down by his side, and flanked by two angels blowing trumpets, is set against a large cross. Directly beneath His feet is a standing figure of the Virgin, slightly smaller in scale.(fig.21) Two lines of figures who appear to be pilgrims, since many carry walking staffs, radiate out from either side of her, so forming a horizontal line which separates the gable from the main body of the facade. Immediately to her left, two kneel down in prayer, and she is looking down and turning her head towards them. The obvious implication is that she is hearing petitions which she will then present to the figure of Christ the Judge above. The Virgin's unusual posture is reminiscent of the words of the *Salve Regina*, addressed to *Mater Misericordiae*, which, in the first half of the twelfth century was being adopted as part of the celebration of divine office by some monastic orders:

Advocata nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte.(21)

The Virgin at St Jouin carries a puzzling attribute which looks like a vase with a narrow neck. In chapter seven reference will be made to the vase as a token of the allegorical figure of *Misericordia*.(22)

This pictorial scheme, in which Mary appears below Christ on the same verical axis, features again in a mid-twelfth century wall-painting at St Leonard's, Stowell, in Gloucestershire.(23) The picture is on the north wall of the nave, which has been shortened, so that the figure of the Judge at the top has been destroyed. Beneath is a horizontal line of figures comprising the apostles, seated, with *Maria Orans* in the centre. Beneath, two angels carry a group of souls heavenwards in a napkin. Others wait below. Although physically in much the same position as on the St Jouin gable, Mary here seems to be engaged in a timeless and continuous role of intercession rather than specifically listening to individual petitions before Judgement. Iconographically the composition echoes an established image of the Ascension dating back to the early Christian period where *Maria Orans* and the Ascending Christ form the vertical axis of the image and the Virgin is flanked by the disciples.(24) The type was particularly common in Byzantine and Byzantine-inspired art until the end of the Romanesque period. Similarly, early Assumption iconography frequently shows *Maria Orans* ascending immediately below Christ in Majesty.(25) This vertical intercessory image therefore mirrored earlier types, the

meaning of which would have amplified the significance of the later compositions. An example occurring in the romanesque period, where an inscription in this case clarifies the full meaning of the image, can be seen in a picture of the Assumption which appears in the Jumieges Gospels (B.L. Add. ms. 17739, fol. 17v). This small illumination dating from the end of the eleventh century shows the *Virgin Orans* ascending to Christ above, with a complementary description which celebrates her as mediator and intercessor:

Haec est alma dei genitrix et virgo maria per quam spes vite toto diffunditu orbe.(26)

The iconographic interplay facilitated by the mirroring device greatly enriches the significance of an image, such as the one at Stowell, by awakening responses prompted by those images it imitates. Gradually through this period intercession and the Matthean representation of the Judge came to be established in apocalyptic imagery. The Virgin appears in the company of various intercessors or alone, and in positions which showed that the Byzantine *Deesis* was not the only model acting upon intercessory compositions. The type where the Virgin appears beneath the Judge's feet may have been influenced by earlier images of the Ascension and the Assumption. This links such an intercessory type with Mary's residence in heaven.

III THE DEESIS WITH THE VIRGIN AND ST JOHN

The first part of the twelfth century also saw the beginnings of a continuous development towards the standard grouping with Christ flanked by Mary and John the Apostle. John initially appears in Last Judgement scenes as a member of the group of disciples. They appear in a number of romanesque examples of the scene both in company with the Apocalyptic Christ and with the Matthean Son of Man, flanking Him in each case.(27)

Four factors account for John's being singled out from his fellow apostles as Mary's co-intercessor. Three of them reflect aspects of Marian piety by this period. First was the leading role played by John in what the Middle Ages understood to be his own Gospel account of the crucifixion, and which materialised in the visual arts from the end of the sixth century in the rood group.(28) Here, John's *compassio* balances Mary's. Secondly, apocryphal legends concerning John's death were in circulation which attested to his bodily Assumption.(29) The episode is rare in the visual arts, though appears on an enamelled portable altar from Stavelot on the Meuse, now in the Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire at Brussels. The episode parallels the more famous event in the Virgin's own legend, and gives a literal explanation for John's presence in heaven with her. Thirdly, there was the closely woven triangular relationship between Mary, Christ

and John based on the biblical tradition of the latter as the best-loved disciple, and Christ's bidding from the cross that John should replace Him as Mary's earthly son. It is on the basis of this friendship between Christ and John that Anselm puts his trust in the disciple as an intercessor in the prayer he addresses to him interestingly as 'a man fearful of damnation.' (*hominis timentis damnari*)(30) In art this close relationship is expressed in Last Supper scenes where John is seated to Christ's right or left with his head resting on Jesus's breast. The detail first appears in late Carolingian and Ottonian art, and a number of twelfth-century examples show the disciple leaning against Christ, but with his head in one hand in much the same way as in the crucifixion group.(31) Fourthly, and as a result of all these, there is the estimation of John as a powerful intercessor. Clearly, from the *Deesis* group and from some literary evidence, this was the case.(32) On the late romanesque tympanum on the chapel of St Maur at Huy is an early example of the standard *Deesis* with John the Apostle. The inscription on it includes a plea for John's intercession.(33)

Some of these influences can be seen to be at work in the composition of the south west tympanum at Laon Cathedral. Carved between 1150 and 1160, although not set in position until after 1180, Christ is shown displaying His wounds against a background of angels carrying the

instruments of the Passion.(34) He is flanked by the apostles and Mary, who is interceding on His right.(fig.22) There are eleven disciples in all, arranged on the tympanum and on the adjacent voussoirs. St Peter is placed next to the Virgin, as these two appear at Conques, but otherwise in a quite different context. John is immediately on Christ's left, differentiated from the other apostles because he holds one hand against his face in the traditional gesture of grief.(35) He is singled out, but is not shown as an intercessor. Instead, John's posture, along with Christ's wounds and the Instruments of the Passion underline the necessary connection between Crucifixion and Judgement. This development of what may be called a western version of the *Deesis* emerges therefore from the increasing emphasis in judgement iconography on the implications of Christ's Passion for judgement. Such a *Deesis* echoes the *dramatis personae* of the rood group, with the tympanum at Laon exemplifying a transitional phase in this development.

IV THE CONTEXT OF THE DEESIS IN FRENCH GOTHIC SCULPTURE

The vertical type of *Deesis* described at St-Jouin-de-Marne and at Stowell was not to become an established part of the tradition of such images. Mary's permanent elevation to Christ's right, as opposed to beneath His feet, would be influenced by the developing visual expression of her

physical presence in heaven, notably in scenes of the Coronation of the Virgin, and to the new realism of the embryonic Gothic style. If, placing Mary underneath Christ follows the romanesque taste for hierarchical propriety, putting her next to Christ with her hands in a closed intercessory gesture makes the dialogue between the two more meaningful. This change of composition was also influenced by the conscious reflection of the traditional iconography of the rood group.

Looking at the larger iconographic scheme on the west front at Laon, of which the Last Judgement portal forms a part, the strong Marian thrust of the whole makes it inevitable that Mary should take a leading role in the Judgement scene. The south east portal celebrates the Incarnation with a tympanum image of the Adoration of the Magi, dominated by the Virgin and Child, and further nativity scenes on the lintel. The central tympanum carries the Coronation of the Virgin, with its overtones of the triumph of the Church and of redeemed humanity.(36) The combination of the Last Judgement with intercessors and the Coronation of the Virgin over two of the three west tympana was to be imitated elsewhere in thirteenth-century France, for instance at Notre-Dame, Paris (1210-1230), in the gables above the tympana at Rheims in the 1240s, and at Bourges (1230-65).(37)

The same principle had been followed too at Chartres in the first decade of the thirteenth century, but in a

different setting. Here the mid-twelfth century west front was still *in* situ, and the sculpture provides an interesting comparison with the thirteenth-century work which is on the north and south portals. The three west tympana take as their subjects the Ascension in the north portal, a Majesty in the centre and a *Sedes Sapientiae* to the South. Thematically the scheme follows the tradition of the earliest of the French tripartite facades, in the narthex at Vézelay, and the mid-twelfth century screen facade at St Gilles-du-Gard. All three in their individual ways represent the New Testament vision for human salvation, in each case the Virgin appearing as a symbol of the Incarnation.(38) These are then diagrams of a static divine plan, and do not deal with the implications of the plan in action. Specifically they do not take account of human-divine interaction in the post Incarnation era and the continuing problem of sin and judgement.

The lateral portals at Chartres were originally designed with single tympana, the Coronation of the Virgin to the North and the Last Judgement to the South, but were soon after modified to the tripartite formula.(39) Like the other thirteenth-century examples cited above, this tripartite scheme, in the case of Chartres spread over six portals, expands the Majesty to incorporate the Judgement theme, adding intercessors, and replaces the Christocentric images of the Ascension or the Crucifixion

with the Coronation of the Virgin.(40) The twelfth-century diagramatic approach therefore gives way to the prophetic approach of the thirteenth century, focussing not on how salvation has been made possible, but on how it will be achieved. The Coronation shows the first fruits of Christ's atonement and triumph over death in the form of the first mortal to be readmitted to Paradise since the Fall, through the prerogative of the Bodily Assumption. Her presence holds out the possibility for everyone else to enter heaven, and her own merits in conjunction with her constant intercession on behalf of humanity, significantly increases the odds for less perfect individuals when Doomsday arrives. Her merciful role in heaven is visually represented by showing the Virgin as an intercessor in the Last Judgement tympanum, a logical visual sequel to the Coronation. The typical thirteenth-century formula therefore shows the Virgin as the instrument of the Incarnation in the Virgin and Child group, usually placed in the context of the Adoration of the Magi; the Virgin as the prototype of redeemed humanity; and the Virgin as the one who, through her offices, ensures that the rest of humankind does not spoil its opportunity also to enjoy the fruits of the Redemption.

The appearance of the Virgin therefore as a regular intercessor in Last Judgement scenes from Laon onwards is part of a much wider development in Marian iconography,

and seems to be particularly linked with the scene of the Coronation of the Virgin. At Chartres the Judgement portal gives the earliest example of the fully developed *Deesis* group.(fig.23) The Son of Man displays his wounds surrounded by angels holding the instruments of the Passion and flanked to His left by John and to His right by Mary who are seated and praying. The removal of the apostles makes for a much more spacious composition than that at Laon. Christ and the intercessors are placed above a scene of judgement, the Weighing of the Souls, which appears on the lintel, where a group of damned are already being taken to hell whilst a group of blessed enter heaven. By investigating the context of this group of monumental judgement images created for public display the wider implications of the cult of the Virgin are shown to reinforce her position as a powerful intercessor, notably her role as *Dei Genetrix* and her presence in heaven.

V THE VIRGIN AS INTERCESSOR TO THE JUDGE IN ENGLISH GOTHIC ART

In England the development of monumental sculpture in the first half of the thirteenth century was rather different to that in France. The didactic subject matter to be found on the French Gothic portal, displayed where it was clearly visible to those going in and out of the church, was not so appropriate in England where the surviving

schemes, notably those at Wells and formerly at Salisbury, cover the whole of the west facade and leave the doors relatively unadorned.(41) Both depict a view of the hierarchy of heaven and earth, dominated by a majesty. At Wells the iconography is further embellished by Biblical scenes tracing the story of Salvation from the Fall to the General Resurrection. In neither does the Last Judgement figure.

Surviving examples of Last Judgements in manuscript illumination would suggest that intercessors, and specifically the Virgin Mary, were not included in the opening decades of the thirteenth century.(42) She does begin to appear from the 1230s as an intercessor, though not necessarily in the standard *Deesis* group.(43) The Laon format where Mary sits in company with the apostles reappears for instance on a single leaf, one of a group surviving from a Psalter by the Oxford artist William de Brailes (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms 330 iii).(fig.24) Here John, raising one hand, sits next to the Virgin to Christ's right rather than opposite on His left. This Last Judgement dated c1230-1240 shows a soul about to be taken to hell, enjoying a last minute reprieve. The traditional finality of the Judgement scene, emphasised in this image by the scroll carried by Christ, is softened by this detail.(44) It raises the question whether it is implied that the reprieve is due to Mary's intercession, though there is no visual link between the

two figures. The fact that the soul clutches a scroll identifying him as the artist suggests that William's merits as a scribe and illuminator are being represented in the traditional way as a contributory factor to his eternal prospects. Furthermore, another surviving leaf from this manuscript depicting the Wheel of Fortune, includes scenes from the legend of Theophilus, the prototype miracle story of the power of the Virgin's intercession.(45) The incorporation of this narrative suggests a strong faith in Marian intercession on the part of the person who chose the images for the Psalter.

VI THE MARIAN *OSTENTATIO*

A variation on the gothic intercessory group described above, no doubt reflecting the Virgin's increasing importance in her role as intercessor, shows Mary appearing on her own petitioning the Judge. In England this can be seen in a wall-painting at Earl Stonham in Suffolk.(46) It also frequently provides the context for an iconographic innovation which appeared in the thirteenth century, in which the interceding Virgin bares her breast.(47) It appeared under the impetus of the reappearance of the *Maria Lactans* image in the twelfth century, discussed in chapter two, although the image had been common in western christian writing from the sixth century.(48)

The exposure of the Virgin's breast to the Judge in judgement imagery or to the observer in Virgin and Child groups such as those described in the last chapter, belong to a type of iconography which Leo Steinberg has described as the *ostentatio*.(49) He applied this term to images in which the wounds and genitalia of Christ are pointedly exposed in order to emphasise His humanity. In the same way images in which Mary intercedes to Christ exposing her breast may be called a Marian *ostentatio* since the motif serves the same purpose, which is to stress Christ's humanity. The Virgin is eliciting the human nature of the Judge in her appeal for mercy. The early-fifteenth-century Wheatley manuscript includes a lyric entitled *A Prayer to the Blessed Virgin* in which the significance of the image is made explicit. The writer asks Mary to intercede for him requesting that she should:

Schewe hym thi pappes for my trespas,
That he soked whenne he yonge was;..(50)

The Lambeth Apocalypse (London, Lambeth Palace, ms 209) dating from the 1260s includes one of the earliest examples of this type. This manuscript of the book of the New Testament which deals with final judgement is bound with a copy of the intercessory miracle story of Theophilus. This pairing of the two texts points to the more general significance of the miracle as representing

the Virgin's intercession on behalf of humankind.(51) On fol. 46v, at the bottom of a page divided into two registers, Mary intercedes to Christ exposing her breast.(fig.25) An Anglo-Norman inscription records her words and her Son's affirmative response.(52) At the top of the page the theme of the Virgin exposing her breast also appears but in a more pragmatic manner. Here Theophilus is shown praying at an altar. On the altar are two images. One a crucifix and the other an image of *Maria Lactans*. Theophilus appeals for intercession to two representations of Christ's humanity revealed in His need for sustenance in the Marian image and His mortality in the Passion image. Both motifs then reappear in the intercessory scene below in the *ostentatio* of the interceding Virgin and the cross-nimbus of her Son.

Of particular relevance to the Lambeth example and illustrating a variation on how the image may have been intepreted by contemporaries, is a slightly amended version given by some writers of the Theophilus story. In Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale* dating from the mid thirteenth century, Theophilus prays to an image of the Virgin and Child on the altar, but God will not listen and turns away. Seeing this the Virgin places her Son's image there and God then listens to her pleas on Theophilus' behalf.(53) This account, confusing though it is in its narrative description of the interplay between represented and representation, nevertheless clearly

emphasises the Passion as an essential element in the iconography of the mercy and humanity of Christ. The Lambeth composition appears to be an example of this variation in the choice of images the artist has placed on the altar.

The east window at Tewkesbury Abbey made in the 1340s also gives an example of the Marian *ostentatio*.(fig.26) It too appears to include a reference to the Passion as part of the intercessionary aspect of the composition, in this case anticipating an iconographic type which was going to fully emerge in the late fourteenth century. In its present form the whole composition includes a Coronation in the centre of the oculus at the top of the window, and Christ displaying His wounds in the central light of the main window, immediately flanked by Mary to His right and an angel to His left, and with a fragmentary group of apostles, prophets and teachers to the far left and right of the window.(54) The bottom of the window is reserved for the General Resurrection, the respective treatment of the saved and the damned, and a naked kneeling donor figure identified with Eleanor de Clare.(55) Of the three central figures, the angel has been the most damaged, and it is now not clear what he holds in his hands. A late-seventeenth-century description of the window, however, makes reference to him carrying a shield bearing the *Arma Christi*.(56) If this was in fact the case Tewkesbury represents in a *Deesis* type of composition an

intercessionary group in which God's humanity represented by the Virgin is complemented by the emblematic reference to the Passion in the angelic figure on the Judge's left.(57)

The *ostentatio* which appears at the top of the late-thirteenth-century *Mappa Mundi* in Hereford Cathedral is much more exclusively Marian in tone.(fig.27) Here the references to the Passion are, more conventionally for this period, connected with the Judge rather than with the intercessor.The map is surmounted by a small image of the Last Judgement with the Matthean Christ displaying His wounds and surrounded by the instruments of the Passion. Below Him kneels the Virgin who has dropped her cloak and is opening the front of her robe to show her breasts. She is flanked by two angels, and accompanied by a woman who holds up a crown above Mary's head. The angel to Mary's right holds up a long inscription in French which reads:

Veici beu fiz mon piz dedeinz la quele chare preistes. E les marmeleites dont leist de Virgin queistes. Eyez merci de touz si com vos memes deistes. Ke moi ont servi kant sauveresse me feistes.(58)

The Virgin here reminds her Son of His humanity and that He had promised to be merciful to her devotees. She finishes with the unusual, but typically mirroring, term *sauveresse*. The Saviour has made His mother Saviouress. The Virgin of the *Mappa Mundi* cannot simply have been seen as a sign of Christ's humanity. She is portrayed in

dialogue with and therefore independent of her Son. The logical implication for the devout which follows from the *Mappa Mundi* inscription is that, if Christ's mercy can only be evinced through the efforts of Mary then she is the active partner in this arrangement and it is therefore to her that devotion should be paid - "Show pity, as you said you would, on all who their devotion paid to me", as the translation reads. This roundabout notion avoids the bald idea of Mary as the source of Mercy whilst making her an indispensable participator in its bestowal.The inscription seems to express this very reasoning in its final phrase "For you have made me saviouress". The image and the text taken in conjunction do not appear to refer merely to Mary's more conventional role in the process of redemption, as the vehicle of the Incarnation. A fifteenth-century macaronic lyric echoes the sentiment of the Hereford image and inscription emphasising the irresistibility of the Virgin's appeal to Christ for intercession:

He wyl nout werne the thi bone parvum quem lactasti.(59)

Those appearances of the Virgin as intercessor without John in the later middle ages removes the echo of the Passion in the traditional *Deesis* group. This reference therefore cannot in these cases bind the group together. The Lambeth Apocalypse and the Tewkesbury window show how,

in some gothic examples, the Passion is still part of the iconography of intercession and not only part of that of the Judge. The Marian *ostentatio* represents the Judge's humanity and so His mercy through a symbol of His birth, the breast from which He suckled, rather than a symbol of His death. In the *Mappa Mundi* the potential for such iconography because of the dialogue inherent in intercession to split the power of the Godhead, is demonstrated.

VII THE VIRGIN AND CHRIST AS INTERCESSORS

The references to Christ's Passion in the representation of intercessors has been demonstrated in examples from the mid thirteenth century. In the fourteenth century such symbolic hints were swept away in favour of an image of Christ showing His wounds to His Father interceding with His mother depicted bare-breasted. The problem, already noted, with intercessory iconography is that it can be seen to be challenging the omnipotence of the Godhead. An artistic style which moves towards realism makes this tendency even more apparent. The Virgin may represent God's humanity but she also was clearly understood as an independent personality. This may result, as has been shown in the *Mappa Mundi*, in her appearing to have power over the bestowal of divine mercy. The balance is redressed by the reference to the Passion, but the problem

emerges in a different form when Christ's sacrifice is represented by the wounded Christ Himself. This new image presents the observer with the visual paradox of God the Son represented by Christ, asking God the Father with whom He is united in the Trinity, represented by the Judge, for intercession.

The ubiquity of this image by the end of the medieval period is witnessed by references to it in Johannes Molanus and in a number of contemporary hymns.(60) Although Molanus attributes the idea which gave rise to the iconography to Bernard of Clairvaux, it appears that the notion was first explored by Bernard's friend and biographer, Arnold of Bonneval. The metaphor is employed by Arnold to develop an idea which at the time was novel in the Western church. This concerned Mary's position as co-redeemer. It went beyond the conventional view that the Virgin only participated in the Redemption as the instrument of the Incarnation. Arnold introduced the notion that Mary's suffering under the cross, prophesied by Simeon, was necessary as a complement to Christ's physical suffering to propitiate for human sin. In his *Tractatus de VII Verbis Dominicis*, III, he wrote, regarding Christ's words to His mother from the cross:

> *Nimirum in tebernaculo illo duo videres altaria, aliud in pectore Mariae, aliud in corpore Christi. Christus carnem, Maria immolabat animam.(61)*

In the De Laudibus Beatae Mariae Virginis he goes on to describe the procedure whereby divine mercy is secured. It is a three stage process - Mary asks, the Son approves and the Father grants.(62) Bernard describes the same procedure in reverse in a sermon on the Nativity of the Virgin when he says that the Son will listen to the Mother and the Father will listen to the Son.(63)

Arnold then, conjures up an image of Mary's emotional suffering in his metaphor of co-redemption, and both he and Bernard describe an intercessory sequence from the Virgin to Christ to God. Both these features were to be taken up in visual examples of the type. The text was transposed into image through the medium of an early-fourteenth-century Dominican work, the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*.(64) This work will be referred to a number of times in the following pages as of crucial importance in the development and circulation of certain Marian iconographic types. It is in manuscripts of this text that illustrations appear showing the Virgin baring her breast to Christ and Christ exposing His wound to God the Father.(fig.28) Independent examples, isolated from the *Speculum*, survive from the late fourteenth century, when both figures intercede simultaneously to the Judge.(65)

The credence given in the Middle Ages to the idea that a mother's milk was transmuted blood which has been referred to in the last chapter nuances the interpretation of the iconography. The *Speculum* examples, and many which

came later which retain the flanking format, must have triggered at least two iconographic reminiscences whilst suggesting a third meaning through the device of mirroring. The two co-redeemers flank the judge in imitation of the ancient *Deesis* intercessory type; the Virgin exposes her breast - a reference, as has been shown, to the Incarnation and so to the mercy of God. Thirdly, the Virgin mirrors the wound of her Son, which is where the belief in milk as transmuted blood becomes particularly pertinent. This mirroring is very deliberate. A crude English example surviving from a mid-fifteenth century Carthusian manuscript represents a death-bed scene. Above the corpse the crowned Virgin cups her breast in her hand, whilst opposite her Christ cups His wound, in exactly the same position, in His.(66) In this the Marian *ostentatio* represents not simply the Incarnation, but also the Passion. The symbol of Christ's human nourishment becomes a mirror for His mortal suffering.

A similar mirroring effect is conveyed in a mid-fifteenth century wall-painting in the church at Fanefjord in Denmark.(fig.29) Here, however, Christ and the Virgin do not flank the Judge, but line up before Him in exactly the way in which the intercessionary procedure is described by Bernard and Arnold. Kneeling figures pray to the Virgin who intercedes to the wounded Christ. He then turns to intercede to the enthroned Father. In some examples this process is indicated by an inscription

whilst still retaining the flanking composition.(67)

The placating effect of the two intercessors is eventually fully visually expressed in a group of early-sixteenth-century images in which the result of the Virgin's and Christ's petitions are shown to appease the avenging arm of God the Father. They were produced in the wake of an extravagant trend in iconography depicting the avenging anger of the Judge, which became particularly prominent in fifteenth-century German art. A particularly dramatic example was painted by Sebastian Dayg in about 1525. Composed similarly to the Fanefjord wall-painting, Christ, rather than interceding to His Father, restrains the Judge's brandished sword whilst displaying His wound with His other hand.(68) This type of intercessory image derived from the *Speculum* richly incorporates therefore a range of doctrinal ideas. The way such images should be read presents a dilemma for the modern observer. A realistic style is yet surreal in its detail, presenting a visual experience akin to the impact of the visionary writing of the mystics.(69)

VIII THE COURTS OF JUSTICE AND MERCY

The image of the crowned Virgin enthroned in heaven with her Son had played its part in reinforcing the impression of the power of Mary's intercession at least from the thirteenth century, such as in the French gothic examples

discussed. The *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* further developed the theme. The text explains that God has established two kingdoms, one of Justice over which He rules and one of Mercy, over which Mary holds sway, the implication being, that through a combination of encouragement and reproval, humankind will find its way to salvation.(70) The idea had already found currency in thirteenth-century writings, notably in two works which enjoyed some popularity in the Middle Ages owing to their both being attributed, though wrongly, to two of the leading theologians of the day, the Dominican, Albert the Great, and the Franciscan, Bonaventure.(71)

In a sermon on Mary's Assumption, Pseudo Bonaventure not only describes the division of the kingdom into two halves, one of Mercy, ruled by Mary and one of Justice ruled by her Son, but also goes on to say that the Virgin, taking the biblical text from the story of Mary and Martha, chose the better part.(72) In a lengthy tract, *De Laudibus Beatae Mariae Virginis*, spuriously attributed to Albert, the Virgin, described as the Mother of Pity and the Queen of Mercy, is called upon to temper the justice of the Son who is the Father and King of Justice.(73) The author discusses at some length the inter-relationship between this merciful mother and her just Son. He frequently returns, for instance, to the way she tempers (*emollivit*) Him. He says the division of labour is an appropriate one, since mothers are usually more merciful

to their children than fathers.(74) He also makes the important point that the Virgin is a strong woman (*mulier fortis*), a necessary virtue in order to hold the balance of power in heaven.(75)

In these two writings, and in the *Speculum*, Justice is projected on to the Son and Mercy on to the Mother. Although the view of heaven as a royal court was not unusual in late medieval art, the detached image of Mary enthroned alongside her Son with the clear implication that they represent the Queen of Mercy and the King of Justice seems to be rare.(76) A tradition appears to have been established in fourteenth-century Tuscan painting of the enthronement side-by-side of Christ and His mother surrounded by angels, which may have been inspired by the *Speculum*.(77) An explicit reference is made in a mid-fourteenth century fresco of the Last Judgement in the Campo Santo in Pisa. Here Christ raises His arm as if to damn those being conveyed to Hell below. The Virgin, enthroned in a mandorla to His right, presides over the Blessed.(78) In Northern Europe two fourteenth-century examples survive which make a link between the Courts of Mercy and Justice and the Weighing of the Souls. These images of individual judgement show Mary and Christ enthroned whilst the Virgin in both cases also interferes with St Michael's scales to the advantage of the soul being weighed, so demonstrating her merciful role.(79)

IX THE LILY OF MERCY AND THE SWORD OF JUSTICE

The visual paradox of God the Son interceding to God the Father, and the iconographic splitting which occurs when heaven is represented as being under the sway of two joint rulers were avoided in a further variation on the *Deesis* theme which first appeared in early manuscripts of the Franciscan *Biblia Pauperum*, dating from the thirteenth century.(80) This image was reproduced throughout the Middle Ages in manuscripts and blockbooks of the text, and developed an independent existence in other contexts. It differs from the conventional *Deesis* described above, in that Christ is shown with one or two swords issuing from His mouth.(fig.30) The Old Testament types flanking this *Deesis* and the biblical texts at the top and bottom of the page make it clear that the attribute of impartial justice is represented by the central figure.(81) The sword, and the rainbow upon which He is seated, are references to the appearance of the Judge in the Book of Revelation.(82) Mary is placed in her traditional position, as a supplicating figure on Christ's right, and opposite John the Apostle. The preceding page, which centres upon the Coronation of the Virgin, points up Mary's regal power in heaven, and makes an oblique reference to her intercessory powers.(83)

When this Last Judgement scene began to be divorced from its complex and learned commentary, the resulting

iconography, no longer constrained by the accompanying text, began to be more varied, sometimes adopting other intercessory types to nuance its impact. The Virgin is made more prominent, for instance, than in the *Biblia Pauperum* type, in two schemes of late fifteenth-century wall-paintings in the neighbouring funerary chapels at Antigny and Jouhet in the Poitou region of France. Here the Last Judgement scenes are depicted as in the *Biblia Pauperum*, but the emotional content is heightened by the Virgin. interceding bare-breasted, and kneeling between Christ with one sword issuing from His mouth to her left, and St Michael weighing the souls to her right. The Marian *ostentatio* again provides a balance for the image of Justice, the Apocalyptic judge, at the point of individual judgement, implied by the context of the painting and the depiction of the Weighing of Souls.(84)

A significant twist to this iconographic type which affected the Virgin's role as intercessor and representative of divine mercy appeared in the fourteenth century. This involved a subtle change in the *Biblia Pauperum* intercessory type, altering the one or two swords emanating from the Judge's mouth to a lily and a sword. Despite the close association with the *Biblia Pauperum* image in some of the fully developed fifteenth-century examples of this theme, the type in fact appears to have an independent origin.(85) A wall-painting of the Doom in Keldby, Denmark, dating from the first half of the

fourteenth century, centres on the Judge with sword and lily in His mouth with Christ, crucified in front of Him.(fig 31) Similarly a Pomeranian wall-painting in Gormin dating from the second half of the century shows the Judge holding a sword and a cross with a lily growing out of it, so directly relating this symbol with the redeeming virtue of the cross. Directly in front of Him is a depiction of Christ as the Man of Sorrows, displaying His wounds.(86) At the same period a link was also being established between the lily and the cross in a group of Annunciation images in which the conventional lily depicted between the Virgin and Gabriel grows up to an upper register in the composition to become the cross upon which Christ is crucified.(87)

These origins indicate that the fifteenth-century image of God the Father with a lily and sword represents a divinity in whose being mercy and justice are incorporated and balanced. The Virgin resumes her place as intercessor appealing to the Judge whose mercy is here represented by the lily rather than more explicit references to the Passion.

The iconography of Marian intercession to the Judge in its numerous variations from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries develops the image of the Virgin's presence in heaven and the image of divine mercy as important components of the type from its earliest appearance in the visual arts of the tenth century. The

ways in which these references were depicted, and who or what represents them in the composition, presents the Virgin's role in a number of lights. They range from the plain petitioner to the Queen ruling her kingdom of Mercy, and from the intercessor powerful as *Theotokos* to the intercessor who also shares in the pain and so in the Redemption achieved through the Passion. All these strands of Marian iconography need to be carried forward when, in the next two chapters, images which reflect the Virgin's protecting role at judgement are considered.

CHAPTER THREE

ENDNOTES

1. J. Molanus, *De Historia SS Imaginum et Picturam Pro Vero Earum Usu Contra Abusus*. ed., H. Cuyckius (Louvain, 1594), Bk 2, ch.4.

2. See chapter 1, part I.

3. This issue is discussed in detail in S. Tugwell, *Human Immortality and the Redemption of Death*, (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1990) pp.72-174. The problem has its roots in New Testament writing. In Matthew 25:31-33 final, general judgement is implied. In the parable of Dives and Lazarus (Luke 16:19-26) immediate, individual judgement is described.

4. For a general background to the Virgin as intercessor in byzantine and early christian art see I.M.Vloberg, 'La Vierge d'intercession dans l'iconographie ancienne', *Vie Spirituelle* (May,1938), 2, 105-127.

5. For theme in Anglo-Saxon Art see R. N. Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, (London: Collins, 1980) 163-164.

6. London, Victoria and Albert Museum (253-1867).The authenticity of the ivory has been challenged. See, for example, D. Denny, 'The Last Judgement Tympanum at Autun: Its Sources and Meaning', *Speculum* 57 (1982) 3, 532-547 (p.536 n.8). The panel is one of a pair. A decorative scheme of eighth-century design is on the other ivory. On the back of both are two apparently tenth-century reliefs depicting the Transfiguration and the Ascension. The authenticity of these other images has not been challenged. It is improbable, given the cutting down and other changes to the eighth- century reliefs when the tenth-century ones were added, that the Last Judgement image is not original, despite its unusual iconography noted by Denny. See exhib. cat. *The Making of Britain*, eds., J. Backhouse & L. Webster, (London: British Museum Press, 1991) no.140.

7. The inscription comes from Matthew 25:34 & 41.

8. See Vloberg (1938) p.121 for the appearance of the *Deesis* group in fourth-century St Peter's. An early extant example related to this type is the ninth-century mosaic of the Emperor Leo VI prostrate before Christ on a lunette mosaic in Hagia Sophia. The Virgin appears interceding in a roundel above the emperor's head, her hands raised, palms facing. It may be significant that Leo's sermons proclaimed great faith in the Virgin's intercessory powers

(Graef, p.195). Tenth-century ivory triptychs in the Louvre and in the Palazzo Venezia in Rome represent the fully developed tenth-century byzantine *Deesis*. In both cases the Virgin appears to Christ's left. See also the discussion of the early Virgin orant as intercessor in Byzantine art in P. Skubiszewski, 'Les imponderables de la recherche iconographique à propos d'un livre récent sur le thème de la glorification de l'Église et de la Vierge dans l'art médiéval', *CCM*, 30 (1987), 145-153 (p.150). For a western example outside England of another variant on the Deesis type see the antependium at the Palatine chapel, Aachen (c.1012), in which the interceding Virgin appears to Christ's right and St Michael, not interceding, to His left.

9. See M. Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p.176. The association of the Virgin and Peter with the glorified majesty goes far beyond Anglo-Saxon Winchester. In the sixth century the north and south altars of Le Mans cathedral, flanking the High altar, were dedicated to the Virgin and Peter respectively. See M. Deyres, *Maine Roman*, Zodiaque 64 (1985), pp 36-37.In the twelfth-century painted 'coelum' at St Mary's, Kempley, Herefordshire, Peter and the Virgin stand at the gates of heaven. On the tympanum of Ste Foy at Conques they stand at the head of the Blessed, and they are depicted in the twelfth-century wall-paintings at Asnières-sur-Veyre in Maine - the Virgin to the North and Peter to the South of the chancel arch.

10. Other English foundations also dedicated to the Virgin and St Peter in the tenth century include Ely, Exeter, Pershore and Cerne. Clayton (1990) pp 122-138.

11. Revelation 4:3 & 5:1

12. This Last Judgement is further discussed in chapter 5, part I.

13. See Clayton (1990) pp 88-89, 120-121 & p.137.

14 The ivory is now in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

15. Most of the references upon which the iconography of the Matthean Second Coming is based appear in Matthew 25. Christ tells the apostles that they will sit in judgement with Him in Matthew 19:28.

16. The connection between the Virgin's queenship and the divine maternity was already well-established. See an eighth-century sermon on the Assumption of the Virgin by John of Damascus discussed by Graef, p.155. The link between queenship and intercession was to be

explicitly made in the original form of the *Salve Regina* addressed to *Regina Misericordiae* and in the Marian anthiphon, *Ave Regina Coelorum*, which finished with a plea for intercession. Both were probably composed in the eleventh century. (M. Britt. *The Hymns of the Breviary and the Missal* (New York: Benziger Bros Inc., 1948) pp 66-67.

17. The Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne portal dates from c.1138. The Puerta da Gloria portal has the date 1188 inscribed on the lintel.

18. This fragment is now in the Musée Rolin in Autun.

19. The inscription opens with the words: *Omnia dispono solus meritosque corono*. For further discussion of the tympanum see chapter five. For medieval thinking on the moral immutability of the dead see Tugwell (1990) pp.117 & 132.

20. For the dating of the St Jouin facade see A. Tcherikover, 'La Facade Occidentale de l'église abbatiale de St Jouin de Marne', *CCM*, 28 (1985) 4, 361-383.

21. See chapter 1, n.77.

22. See chapter 7, part VI.

23. See E.W.Tristram, *English Medieval Wall-Painting: The Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1944) pp 147-148.

24. An Ascension of this type appears on one of the fifth or sixth-century ampoules now at Monza, housed at the collegiate church of St John.

25. An example appears in a twelfth-century sacramentary from Tours (Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, cod. 193, fol.98). It is reproduced in Schiller 4, part 2, no.587.

26. Reproduced in Skubiszewski (1987) fig. 4.

27. The sculptures inside the south porch of Malmesbury abbey in Wiltshire show the disciples flanking a judge based on the Apocalyptic type from the Book of Revelation. The tympanum of Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne shows them flanking the Matthean type with the instruments of the Passion.

28. See Schiller 2, nos 332 & 333. An Ottonian rood image appearing in an evangeliary from Reichenau dating from the tenth century makes an explicit connection between this iconography and the *Deesis*. The symmetry of the image is underlined in the inscription which calls on John as virgin and intercessor: *Et tu iunge preces cum Virgine Virgo johannes*. See exhib. cat. *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der*

Ottonen, 2 vols (Mainz-am-Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1993) 2, part VI, no. 68.

29. See *The Apocryphal New Testament*, ed., M.R. James (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924), p.270. Both Fulbert of Chartres (*PL* 141, col.325) and Honorius of Autun (*PL* 172, col.1164) make reference to the legend.

30. Anselm, *Opera Omnia*, ed., F.S. Schmitt, 6 vols (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd, 1946-1961) vol 3 (1946) pp 42-45.

31. See Schiller 2, no.82 for a ninth-century example from northern France. Twelfth-century examples appear on Nicholas of Verdun's Klosterneuberg 'retable' and on the pulpit at Volterra in Tuscany where, in both cases, John has his head resting on his hand.

32. For example the prayer, *O Intemerata*, originating in a Cistercian milieu in the mid-twelfth century called on both John and the Virgin for intercession. Later the prayer was to become exclusively Marian. See A. Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge latin*, (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1932) pp 476-504.

33. The inscription reads: *Ora Virgo pia nostra precare Maria - Johannes care Christo bona nostra precare - vota tue gentis Deus aude parce redemptis - Postquam vivisti mortem vitamque dedisti*. See M-L Therel, *A l'origine du decor du portail occidental de Notre Dame: le triomphe de la Vierge Eglise. Sources historiques, litteraires et iconographiques* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1984) pp 65-66 & fig 26.

34. See W. Sauerlander, *Gothic Sculpture in France 1140-1270*, trans., J. Sondheimer (London: Thames & Hudson, 1972) pp 425-428.

35. Another example of the gesture of grief associated with crucifixion iconography transferred to a *Deesis* context is on the early twelfth-century tympanum from the Cathedral of St Adalbert now in the museum at Esztergom.

36. For discussions of the iconography of the Virgin as *Ecclesia* see chapter 2, n.50.

37. Sauerlander (1972) pp 450-457, 476-481, & 504-505

38. The west portal of Vezelay (c.1125) comprises the Adoration of the Magi and other nativity scenes to the South, the Ascension to the North and the enigmatic commission of Christ to the Apostles in the centre. The west portal of St Gilles (late 1140s) comprises the Crucifixion to the South, the Adoration of the Magi and Joseph's dream to the North, and a Majesty (modern, but probably repeating the original

iconography) in the centre. See M.F. Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture*, (Oxford: Phaidon, 1981) pp 165-208.

39. For the lateral portals at Chartres see A. Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral: Christ, Mary, Ecclesia* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1959); Sauerlander (1972), pp.430-438.

40. Although the apostles do appear in the portal composition, as statue columns on either side of the door, thereby mirroring the position of the Patriarchs and the Prophets on the Coronation portal on the north side.

41. Similarly the north portals of both buildings are relatively free of figurative sculpture.

42. The same pertains to other media. For example, the surviving part of the thirteenth-century north transept rose window in Lincoln Cathedral depicting the Last Judgement. This features the Judge at the top of the composition flanked by angels carrying Instrumants of the Passion. The Virgin appears with the apostles at each end of the horizontal axis of the window, but too far away to make a meaningful gesture of intercession. See N.J. Morgan,'The Medieval Painted Glass at Lincoln', CVMA, Occasional Paper III, 1983 pp.14-18. For similar observations in thirteenth-century manuscripts see N.J.Morgan,'*T*exts and Images of Marian Devotion in Thirteenth-Century England', in *Harlaxton English Medieval Studies* I (Stamford: Paul Watkin, 1991) 69-103 (p.95).

43. An early English example of the *Deesis* with the Virgin and John the Apostle appears in Cambridge, St John's College, ms.K. 26, fol 22v. See N.J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts 1190-1285 SMIBI* 4, 2 vols (1987) 2, no.179.

44. The inscription reads: *Venite Benedicte. Ita Maledicte*. Based on Matthew 25:34 & 41.

45. See chapter 6 for further discussion of the Theophilus story. The other surviving leaves from this Psalter which are in the Fitzwilliam museum, Cambridge (ms 330) and in the Pierpont Library in New York (M.913) show the Fall of the Rebel Angels, scenes from Genesis, the Last Judgement, the Wheel of Fortune, Christ with King David and the symbols of the Four Evangelists, the Tree of Jesse, and scenes from the childhood of Christ designed to mirror the arrangement of the Genesis scenes of the Fall. See Morgan (1987) vol 1, no.72.

46. It appears as part of a late fifteenth-century Doom painted above the chancel arch. See A. Caiger-Smith,

English Medieval Mural Paintings (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963) p.35

47. The classical origins of this gesture are discussed in E. Panofsky, 'Imago pietatis, ein Beitrag zur Typengeschichte des "Shmerzensmanns" und der "Maria Mediatrix" in *Festschrift fur Max J. Friedlander* (Leipzig, 1927), p.302, n.75. A late-thirteenth-century example appeared on a Doom painting formerly in the church of St John the Baptist in Winchester. The cycle of paintings, which were on the nave wall, also included a Marian *ostentatio*. The church had strong Franciscan connections. See F.J. Baigent, 'The Wall-Paintings of the Church of St John the Baptist, Winchester', *JBAA* 9 (1854) 1-14; A.G. Little, *Franciscan History and Legend in English Art* (Manchester, 1937) For other thirteenth-century English examples see Morgan (1991) pp 95-97. Fourteenth-century examples appear at Chalgrove in Oxfordshire on a painted Doom on the south west side of the chancel and at Ickleton in Cambridgeshire above the chancel arch. In the latter case the Virgin is partnered by John the Baptist as intercessor. Fifteenth-century examples appear in wall-paintings at Chesterton in Cambridgeshire, and North Cove in Suffolk.

48. See chapter 1, n.22

49. L. Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion*, (London: Faber & Faber, 1984) p.1, & pp 127-130. More generally this iconographic trend may be linked to the late medieval liturgical practise of elevating the Blessed Sacrament so that it may be witnessed by sight; also the design of late medieval reliquaries which enabled the relic to be seen by, rather than be hidden from the devotee.

50. *The Wheatley Manuscript*, ed., M. Day, EETS OS 155 (1921) p.12

51. See chapter 6. Further evidence of the general application of the Theophilus legend as an intercessory type is suggested in the production of the Gulbenkian Apocalypse (Lisbon, Museu Calouste, Gulbenkian ms. L.A. 139, fol. 73v) by the same workshop about five years later in which the same image of the interceding Virgin appears in a general judgement context.

52. The inscription reads: *Tres cher fiz, oez ma ureisun. Pensez de Theophle ke est en prisun. Mere ieo vus voil granter. Alez la chartre purchacer.*

53. See J. Hérolt, *Miracles of the Virgin*, trans., C.C.S. Bland (London: Routledge, 1928), pp.68-69 & p.139. Bland suggests Vincent as a source for Herolt. Another version of a Marian miracle by Herolt is also

given a variation which emphasises the Redemptive powers of the Passion. See chapter 5, part IV.

54. SS Peter, Paul and John the Baptist can be recognised.

55. It is possible that Eleanor is not part of the original window, since a horizontal line goes through her, but not through the rest of the window at this point. Also, the glass to one side of her has been made up. I am grateful to Sarah Brown of the CVMA for pointing this out to me. The oculus is mainly the work of restorers in the 1920s.

56. The description was published by the Camden Society in 1850.

57. See Schiller, 2, no.655 for another example of the *Arma Christi* appearing on a shield in the fourteenth century.

58. See A.L. Moir, *The World Map in Hereford Cathedral* (Hereford: The Cathedral,1970), p.11; Morgan (1987) vol 2, no. 188. The Middle English corresponds here to the Latin epithet *Salvatrix*. See, for example, *AH* 50, p.392 dating from the twelfth century. The other woman in the *Mappa Mundi* image is curious. Neither she nor the Virgin is haloed. At West Somerton in Norfolk the Judge is flanked by the Virgin and another woman. It is possible in this case that she represents St Anne, the Virgin's mother. For invocation of the Virgin and her mother at the point of death in contemporary literature see R. Woolf, *The English Lyric in the Middle Ages*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1968) p.295.

59. The Early English Carols, ed., R.L. Greene (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935) p.141

60. Molanus (1594), Bk 2, ch.31: *O homo securum habes accessum ad deum, ubi mater ante filium, filius ante patrem. Mater ostendit filio pectus et ubera. Filius ostendit patri latus et vulnera:...* Molanus here is almost quoting *verbatim* Arnold of Bonneval (*PL* 189, col 1726). For references to this type in late fifteenth-century and early-sixteenth-century hymns see *AH* 49, p.361 and *AH* 52, p.63. European iconographic examplesappear in paintings in Basle in the style of Konrad Witz (c.1450), in Augsburg by Hans Holbein the Elder (1509), and in Munich by Filippino Lippi (c.1495).

61 *PL* 189, cols 1694-1695. For the Virgin as co-redeemer see O'Carroll, pp.305-309; S. Sticca, *The Planctus Mariae in the Dramatic Tradition* of the Middle Ages, trans., J.R. Berrigan (Athens & London: University of Georgia Press, 1988) pp 19-31.

62. *PL* 189, col 1727.

63. *Exaudiet utique Matrem Filius et exaudiet Filium Pater*. See *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, eds., J. Leclercq & H. Rochais, 8 vols (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957-1977) 5 (1968) p.279.

64. *The Mirour of Mans Salvacioune: A middle english translation of Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, ed., A. Henry (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1986). The two images of the interceding Virgin exposing her breast to Christ and then Christ exposing His wound to God the Father illustrate chapter 39.

65. For example, a single leaf by a Flemish master from the *Tres Belles Heures de Notre Dame*, Paris, Louvre, leaf II (of 4), c.1385-90. In this example both Christ and the Virgin face the Judge.

66. BL ms Add. 37049, fol.19. c.1450. See J.Hogg,'A Morbid Preoccupation with Mortality? The Carthusian London British Library MS. Add. 37049' in *Analecta Cartusiana*, 117 (1986), 2, 139-189. A similar, slightly earlier example appears in an English manuscript of the *Vado Mori*, c.1420-30. See K.L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490*, SMIBI 6, 2 vols (1996) 2, no. 63. Other examples of this mirroring type appear in some Scandinavian wall-paintings. For example two fifteenth-century Finnish examples at Kalenti and Parainem (H. Edgren, *Mercy and Justice: Miracles of the Virgin in Finnish Medieval Wall-Paintings* (Helsinki: Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys,1993) pp. 69-70; an early sixteenth-century Danish example at Sødring (U. Haastrup, *Danske Kalkmalerier. Sengotik. 1500-36*, (Copenhagen: Ejilers' Forlag, 1992), p.18. A watercolour by E.W. Tristram of a wall-painting from Newington in Kent suggests that the type was also represented there (VAM E.1340 1924).

67. For example in an early-fifteenth-century painting by a Florentine master, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. The inscription runs from the Virgin to Christ and then upwards from Christ to God the Father. The inscription reveals the Virgin pleading to Christ because of the milk with which she suckled Him, and Christ pleading to God the Father because of the wounds with which He was inflicted at the Passion.

68. See P. Dinzelbacher, 'Die Totende Gottheit. Pestbild und Todesikonographie als Ausdruck der Mentalitat des Spatmittelalters und der Renaissance' in *Analecta Cartusiana* 117 (1986) 2, 5-138 (fig.32).

69. Julian of Norwich, for example, describes the individuating characteristics of the three persons of the Trinity in the *Showings*, ch.58. Whilst maintaining the oneness of the Trinity, she describes each part using familial imagery. It is in this passage that she equates the Second Person of the

Trinity with the characteristic of mothering and describes Christ as the Mother of Mercy. See Julian of Norwich, *Showings*, trans., E. Colledge & J. Walsh (New York: Paulist Press, 1978) pp.293-295. For another fourteenth-century reference to the mothering role of Christ see *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript*, eds., C. Horstmann & F.J. Furnivall, EETS 98, 2 vols (1892) I, p.46

70. Henry (1986) p.197. *Godde has his regne departid in partis two jentillye, That one kept for hymself, that other gyven til oure Ladye. He kepes til hymselven justice, delyvred til his modere mercy, with the first he us manaces, with that other helps us marye.*

71. Pseudo-Albert's tract, 'De Laudibus Beatae Mariae Virginis', appears in *Opera Alberti Magni*, ed., Borgnet, vol 36, pp 343-350. In 1625 this was discovered to be a work by a thirteenth-century Dean of Rouen Cathedral, Richard of St Laurent. See Graef, p.266. Pseudo-Bonaventure's sermon on the Assumption appears in *Opera Omnia*, ed. Quaracchi, vol 9, pp. 700-706. See Graef, p.281.

72. *Sextam divisionem fecit cum filio cum quo divisit regnum caelorum cuius duae erant partes iustitia et misericordia Beata Virgo optimam sibi elegit, quia facta est regina misericodiae, et Filius eius remansit rex iustitiae; et melior misericordia iudicum et miserationes eius super omnia opera eius.* Quaracchi, 9, p.703. The quotation from the story of Mary and Martha comes from Luke 10:42.

73. *Dabat autem Deus pater Filium suum in patrem, et regem iustitiae, et ad eius iustitiam moderandam dedit nobis matrem pietatis et reginam misericordiae.* Borgnet (1898) 36, p.345. The metaphor of the kingdoms of justice and mercy continues to be used until the end of the medieval period, for example in the writing of Jean Gerson and Bernardine of Busti in the fifteenth century. See O'Carroll pp 77 & 157.

74. *Mater enium solet esse magis misericors filiis quam pater.* Borgnet (1898) 36, p.345.

75. Borgnet (1898) 36, pp.345-6. Pseudo-Albert says she is strong because of her virginity, poverty, humility, patience, and motherhood. He adds: *Et oportebat, quod fortis esset mulier, quae paritura erat masculum, et talem masculum, qui principem mundi huius foras ejiceret, eriperetque inopem de manu fortiorum, ut eius propria virtute gloriosos terrae humiliaret.* The strength of the Virgin resident in heaven was celebrated in late medieval hymns on the Assumption such as the *virgo potens* in *AH* 52, p.64, and the *potens et imperiosa* woman who reconciles us with Christ in *AH* 49, p.332.

76. Heaven depicted as a royal court can be seen, for example, in the scene of the enthronement of the Virgin from the mid-fifteenth-century Hours of Etienne Chevalier now in the Musee Conde in Chantilly.

77. See exhib. cat. *Painting and Illumination in Early Renaissance Florence* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), no.16i

78. In the north gallery of the Campo Santo opposite Bonamico Buffalmaco's Triumph of Death.

79. See Bod, ms Douce 374 fol.4 for an example in a French manuscript of Marian miracles. The same image appears in a similar manuscript in Paris (BN ms Fr. 9199 fol.4)

80. *Biblia Pauperum*, ed. A. Henry (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1987)

81. Henry (1987) p.122. The Old Testament types in the *Biblia Pauperum* for the Judge with the sword in His mouth flanked by the Virgin and John are the Judgement of Solomon and David condemning the Amelecite.

82. Revelation 1,16 describes the Judge with one sword in His mouth.

83. Henry (1987) p.119. The reference comes from Ps 45:12 *Et filiae Tyri in muneribus vultum tuum deprecabuntur: omnes divites plebis.*

84. See R-C Tessier, *St-Savin, Antigny, Jouhet* (Moisenay: Éditions Gaud, 1989) pp 60-63.

85. Bod. ms Liturg 186. fol 38v is a Last Judgement with sword and lily in an English fifteenth-century book of hours which is very close to the *Biblia Pauperum* type. Similarly influenced is the much restored early-sixteenth-century west window in St Mary's, Fairford, in Gloucestershire.

86. For the Gormin painting see Schiller, 2, fig.714. She cites R.G,Baier: 'Weltergericht und Schmerzensmann' in *Festschrift fur J. Jahn*, (Leipzig,1957) for further discussion of this example.

87. For example, the culminating image of the Jesse Tree on the fourteenth-century painted ceiling of St Helen's, Abingdon, Oxfordshire is the Annunciation with Christ crucified on the lily. A similar example appears on an early-fifteenth-century English alabaster in the VAM (A193-1946).

CHAPTER FOUR

THE IMAGE OF THE VIRGIN OF MERCY.

O flos virginalis,
Mater regis aeternalis,
Nos protege tuis alis,
Ne premanur multis malis (1)

The intercessory iconography considered in the last chapter saw Mary in the role of one who asks for, but who does not bestow mercy. In the next two chapters two images will be examined which are closely connected with Mary as a protector of humankind, first, the Virgin of Mercy, and secondly, the Weighing of Souls or *Psychostasis* with the Virgin intervening. It will be argued that both iconographic types originate in a much older literary tradition in which they appear as part of the language of metaphor. By examining the literature in which these types figure, along with the images themselves in their contexts, the developing significance of the iconography for contemporary observers wil be explored, according to its metaphoric or narrative function.

The image known as the Virgin of Mercy is focussed on Mary, wearing a cloak, standing with outstretched arms, and sheltering humans under them.(2) She may or may not be carrying the infant Christ, the people under her cloak vary in number, they may be clothed or naked according to whether or not they represent souls about to be judged, and they may represent specific social groups or humanity generally. Sometimes the image appears in isolation, sometimes in a judgement context, and sometimes in

conjunction with another symbolic image.

In Northern European terms it is an iconographic type which was at its height of popularity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Probably the earliest surviving large-scale example appears in a fourteenth-century wall-painting in the small Norman church of St Ceneri-le-Gerei where it is depicted on the north-east side of the church opposite a *Psychostasis* on the south side.(3) It is not an image which survives to any great extent in English art, although the fact that examples in wall-painting, sculpture, manuscript illumination, and wood carving have come down to us indicates that it might once have been more popular in this country than would now appear.

Clearly, Mary in this type, is adopting a posture of protection. The questions of whom she is protecting, and from what will be addressed later, but it suffices to begin by establishing that such an image was widely understood to have this meaning in Christian culture. That it has a much more primitive and universal application than a mere cultural one need hardly be added, but for the purposes of this discussion examples will be drawn exclusively from Judaism and Christianity.(4)

I BIBLICAL AND EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERARY SOURCES

If the iconography emerged at a late point in the Middle Ages, the literary metaphor is a commonplace in biblical

literature. Here, protective motifs are particularly prominent in the Psalms, and appear in two main forms. The first adopts the military image of protecting with a shield, the other, which is more pertinent to the subject under discussion, takes for its inspiration the idea of a bird protecting with its wings. In the six psalms which utilise this metaphor, the Vulgate translates the hebrew into *alae* (wings), but the shelter which the wings provide is conveyed in more various ways - as the shadow (*umbra*) or the cover (*tegimen*), for instance.(5) In Psalm 91 the person of faith is invited to have trust under the Lord's feathers, whilst in the same verse another idea of protection is also described as being overshadowed by the Lord's pinions.(6)

In the Gospels the bird image appears again in both Matthew and Luke. Christ is lamenting over Jerusalem in the temple.

Jerusalem, Jerusalem, quae occidis prophetas, et lapidas eos, qui ad te missi sunt, quoties volui congregare filios tuos, quemadmodum gallina congregat pullos suos sub alas, et noluisti? (7)

The simile He uses is that of a hen gathering her chickens under her wings. The image here, and it may or may not be significant that this is a specifically female image, unlike the birds in the Psalms, not only conveys the idea of protection, but also, in this context, of correction. (8)

Against what or whom is the protection provided in the above passages? In the Psalms, refuge is sought from oppressers, and natural calamities. In the New Testament

passages, the corrective element enters, in the sense that Christ is offering to protect the people of Jerusalem from their own wickedness.

The Gospels and the Psalms were crucially important in their influence on the monastic mindset of the Middle Ages, the latter because of their central position in the daily recitation of the hours set down in the breviary. With the development of private offices in the later medieval period, which increasingly became the prayerbooks of the laity, it is notable that, of the six psalms listed above, Psalm 63 was to feature as part of Lauds in the Little Office of the Virgin Mary, the core text of the Book of Hours, and in the *Dirige* in the Office for the Dead.(9)

As a zoomorphic metaphor, clearly a direct transferral of it into visual terms as a way of depicting the protection offered by God would not do. What may be established, however, is that from key biblical texts, a picture of protection using wings, the avian equivalent of draped arms, could be drawn. That this image is used to describe the protective care of God is significant. As has been shown in the last two chapters it was not unusual for many aspects of the apparatus used to communicate and praise the workings of God to be transferred to the Virgin Mary. Here too it will be shown that both in literary and in visual terms the same process was going on, so corroborating the argument that Mary's role in medieval devotion mirrored, reinforced, and was frequently interchangeable with that of her Son. The resulting

partnership produced a powerful and distinct symbol of God's mercy.

In the first christian centuries, the earliest surviving reference to Mary as protector appears in the third or fourth-century Greek prayer addressed to the Virgin, known in the Latin world as the *Sub Tuum*.(10) The usual Latin translation opens *Sub tuum praesidium confugimus*, which can be literally translated: "Under your guard, we take refuge". An even closer literary equivalent to the image of the Virgin of Mercy appears in another translation of the prayer which was current in the Latin world. Instead of *Sub tuum praesidium*, a ninth-century Italian version of the prayer translates the line into: *Sub tuis visceribus confugio*, which considerably softens the metaphor. Henri Barré notes that this version conveys more accurately the spirit of the Greek original. The line was incorporated into other prayers which were quite widely circulated in later medieval manuscripts.(11)

The Greek world also produced the sixth-century *Akathistos Hymn*, the important liturgical piece which, amongst its Marian salutations, throws further light on the early christian view of Mary's protecting role. It salutes the Virgin as 'the wood of welcome shade where many take refuge'' and the 'stole of those stripped of the right to appeal'.(12) The latter is clearly of interest, being the closest literary approximation to appear so far to the Virgin of Mercy image, making reference to a protecting garment, here identified with, rather than simply worn by Mary. The phrase is notable too in view of

whom the Virgin is seen to be protecting. She is specifically caring for those who have squandered, presumably in this context through the curse of Original Sin, the right to defend themselves. This introduces a third reason for the sense of the need for protection in christian thinking. In the Psalms protection is offered from external and internal evil. In this passage from the *Akathistos* hymn there is a sense of protection from due punishment. It also sets the image into a legal context, where Mary is the counsel for the defence. The legal reference has a more general bearing on the development of the medieval cult of Mary as intercessor, linking in with the later metaphors of the Virgin presiding over a court of mercy and her interference with the scales of justice.(13)

II THE LANGUAGE OF NARRATIVE: early miracle literature up to the thirteenth century

When the image of the Virgin protecting with her garment is absorbed into miracle literature and her action becomes instrumental to the development of the narrative, then generally the metaphor becomes localised and personalised. Perhaps the earliest miracle account which employs the image and which remained popular throughout the middle ages was the story of the Jewish boy in the oven. The account appears to have originated in sixth-century Constantinople, and the earliest Latin version is that by Gregory of Tours (d.594).(14) The story concerns a Jewish

boy who participated in a Christian rite and was punished by his father by being thrown into a red-hot furnace. He was eventually released entirely unscathed, having been protected by the Virgin from the flames. The details vary in the surviving versions, but in Gregory's account, the boy is saved because Mary covered him with her cloak.(15)

This story, relocated to Bourges, was later incorporated into the so-called 'elements' series of Marian legends which, according to the eleventh-century compiler, illustrated Mary's control over the elements. (16) A later story, probably originating in twelfth-century France, takes the same image of Mary using her cloak to protect her devotee from the elements, this time against water. A pilgrim falls to the bottom of the sea after escaping from a sinking ship. Mary rescues him by wrapping her cloak around him, or, in other versions, holding the cloak over him like a tent.(17). In English art there are surviving representations of both these legends which include the detail of the cloak. A bas de page illumination in the early-fourteenth century Queen Mary Psalter (BL ms 2 B. vii.fol.214), shows Mary sheltering a pilgrim under her cloak . The grisaille wall-paintings in the Lady Chapel at Winchester Cathedral (c.1500) feature the relevant episode from the story ofthe Jewish boy at Bourges.(fig.32)(18)

The miraculous action which provides the fulcrum around which these stories turn are closely related in visual terms to the image of the Virgin of Mercy. There are other examples which, whilst not conjuring up the

image so precisely, do provide further evidence of Mary protecting her suppliants with a part of her body or her clothing. Gautier de Coincy recalls, in the thirteenth century, how she defended Constantinople by catching the enemy projectiles in her cloak and hurling them back at the aggressors in his version of the legend about Julian the Apostate.(19) Elsewhere he describes how her statue was set up on the ramparts of a town near Orleans which was being besieged by devils. One of these shot at an archer standing behind the image, which raised its knee, thereby taking the shot and saving the bowman's life.(20) There are a number of thirteenth-century accounts of the drunk monk tempted by the devil in the form of various animals. Mary intervenes to protect him using her cloak in a toreador like manner.(21) Amongst the versions of these legends the object which Mary uses to protect her clients varies. P. Beterous notes that, in thirteenth-century collections, the following appear: wings, arms, cloak, veil and shield.(22)

The narrative thus breathes life into the metaphor. The Virgin in these accounts is dealing only with the fortunes of an individual. She protects against external malign forces, saving her devotees from death, but not from punishents which may be meted out by the Judge after death.

III THE LANGUAGE OF METAPHOR: the sermons of Amadeus of Lausanne (23)

The image of the Virgin of Mercy as a metaphor continued to be developed alongside the miracle accounts. In the writing, for example, of Amadeus of Lausanne and his former teacher, Bernard of Clairvaux, the image is particularly dramatically treated.(24) Amadeus, Bishop of Lausanne (d.1159) wrote a series of eight sermons to the Virgin. Taking Isaiah's prophecy in Chapter 11, the sermons, having placed Mary as the pivot between the Old and the New Testament, then go on to associate events in her life with the Seven gifts of the Holy Spirit enumerated in 11:2. The exquisite structure of the series lent itself to liturgical use, and at least from the first half of the thirteenth century the sermons were read regularly in the Cathedral at Lausanne on Saturday mornings.(25)

The eighth sermon, resorting again to the text from Isaiah, and exploiting the popular medieval pun on *virga*, likens the Virgin to the stem growing from the root of Jesse whose branches have spread out over the whole earth to protect the Sons of Adam from heat, wind and rain, and whose fruit nourishes them.(26) The image also echoes the invocation to the 'wood of welcome shade' from the *Akathistos* hymn referred to above. This extraordinarily rich image with its implicit references to the Fall and Redemption also moves beyond the framework of christian reference by imagining the Virgin as a colossal nature

goddess who, were she presented by an artist, would appear Daphne-like with great branches as arms.(27)

IV THE LANGUAGE OF THE VISIONARY: Bridget of Sweden's *Liber Celestis* (28)

Visionary writing provided a fertile medium for the image, not constrained by the realism of miracle literature but still engaging the reader with the human interest of narrative. The rich possibilities of the image of the Virgin of Mercy for the visionary and didactic writer were thoroughly trawled by Bridget of Sweden in the late fourteenth century. Her influential *Liber Celestis* utilises the metaphor to express a number of ideas. In a fourteenth-century Middle-English version, the Virgin invites Bridget to take shelter under her *mantill of meknes*. This can shelter her from wind, cold and rain which she explains represents protection in turn from society's reprovals, self-seeking friendships, and worldly desires.(29). At a later point Mary describes to Bridget how she assured St Dominic before he died that she would protect his surviving brothers under her mantle from the enemy. She goes on to lament how few there are under her cloak now in comparison with when Dominic was alive as so many had since abandoned the principles of his rule.(30) A vision of the Doom of a knight furnishes a third variant on the use of this image. It appears that the soul is to be damned, when the Virgin opens her mantle to display a church and a group of monks, clergy and laypeople calling

for mercy on the knight's soul. The point of the vision is to explain the efficacy of prayers and good works by the living on behalf of the souls of the dead.(31)

Bridget's visions therefore interpret the image in new ways. It is used explicitly to shield her protegees from temptation, and it shows her sponsorship of a particular social group. In the third type it is set in a judgement context where the Virgin does not protect the soul of the knight, but protects those under her cloak who pray on his behalf. In two of these examples, therefore, the cloak signifies sponsorship as much as protection.

V THE VIRGIN OF MERCY AS PART OF A JUDGEMENT SCENE IN LATE MEDIEVAL LITERARY SOURCES

By the time Bridget was writing the earliest surviving visual examples of the Virgin of Mercy had already appeared. There were appearing also an abundance of references to the motif, direct and implied, in late medieval literature.(32) A fresh nuance appears in thirteenth-century literature in which the cloak appears as a means of protection against Divine wrath at the Doom. Mary's heightened activity around the time of an individual's death or in the vision of the General Judgement was already well established. Her help was invoked against the machinations of the devil at this time, she spoke to her Son on behalf of those about to be judged, or she simply used her persuasive powers and privileged position with her Son to deflect His

purpose.(33) The image of the mantle is now brought in to show the Virgin standing between humankind and the effects of divine anger on the Last Day. A book of *exempla* for the use of Franciscan preachers concludes an account of a miracle where Mary has saved some priests from a storm using her veil, with an invocation to use her veil to protect them from the anger of her Son when they die.(34) A more general image of the same kind is conjured up in a Franciscan hymn on the Last Judgement in which Mary is called upon to prepare a place of refuge on Judgement Day.(35) An expanded version of the *Salve Regina* which appears in some late medieval primers features a similar appeal to her for refuge in the presence of the Father and the Son.(36)

The Virgin of Mercy motif, in these examples, represents a shield between the judge and the judged. It is a metaphor which is easily transferred into visual terms. Other ways of representing the same idea concerning the operation of justice and mercy also appear in contemporary literature. These, although not usually transferred into visual imagery in themselves, nevertheless further established the idea of mercy as intervention. Mercy in relation to justice was, for example, expressed in a dimension of time instead of space. There is frequent reference to mercy coming before justice, mercy coming first and justice after. Mercy sets the context in which justice operates. The sentiment has its origins in biblical and early christian writing, and becomes a recurrent theme in later medieval literature.

The thirteenth-century Franciscan *Dies Irae* calls on God to be merciful before exercising justice:

Iuste iudex ultionis, donum fac remissionis ante diem rationis (37)

Similarly a fourteenth-century Middle English hymn is entitled: *Do Merci bifore thi jugement*.(38). An alternative motif, conveying the same idea which, like the Virgin of Mercy, emerges from a metaphor, puts the suffering Christ between the judge and the judged. The same poem, for example, shifts from the temporal to the spatial metaphor in the last line when Christ is invoked to *putte al thy passyoun Betwixte us and thy juggement*. (39) By the end of the Middle Ages the idea was sometimes conveyed visually by showing the wounded Christ confronting the judge whilst fearful figures huddle behind Him.(40) Even, on occasions, the Son may be conveyed as protector in the same way as His mother, sheltering devotees under His cloak.(41)

This examination of some of the textual equivalents of the image of the Virgin of Mercy has established that, in its written form, it conveyed a number of complementary ideas. These include protection from external and internal forces of harm, the Virgin's sponsorship of a particular group, protection from impartial justice on the Last Day, and Mary's advocacy on behalf of those unable to defend themselves. These types of the Virgin of Mercy belong to a larger group of motifs in which divine mercy is represented as a form of intervention between the Judge and the judged. This may be expressed either by mercy

coming *before judgement in time or before* judgement in space.

VI VISUAL PRECURSORS

Much of the forgoing literature predates the emergence of the standard image of the Virgin of Mercy in the West from the late thirteenth century. There are visual precursors too which appear to be representing heavenly protection by using the metaphor of the cloak. An enamel plaque dating from the twelfth century, probably of English origin and now in London (VAM M.209 1925) depicts the Last Judgement. Whilst the condemned appear in the lower register of the composition in the flames of hell, the cross-nimbused judge hovers above with the wide-eyed faces of the blessed taking refuge in the folds of His cloak.(fig.33) A page from the so-called Lothian Bible of the thirteenth century displays a similar motif.(42)

The Virgin too uses her cloak in a protective posture in a page from a thirteenth-century Armenian manuscript.(43) Here she appears to be presenting a man and his two young sons to her enthroned Son, as if in the role of their sponsor. A small panel painting dating from the mid 1290s, by the Siennese artist, Duccio, utilises a

similar composition, but this time Christ appears as a baby in Mary's arms. The Virgin's robe spreads out to envelop three Franciscans in an attitude of prayer.(44)

The visual origins of the Virgin of Mercy were treated briefly by Leon Silvy and then extensively surveyed by Paul Perdrizet at the beginning of this century.(45) Both look to a Cistercian milieu for the earliest examples of the transition from the verbal metaphor to the standard visual image via the narrative account, citing a vision written down by the thirteenth-century Cistercian monk, Cesar von Heisterbach. Both trace how this legend was adopted by Dominican writers to give authority to the precedence they claimed in the Virgin's favour. Perdrizet goes on to discuss how, from the Mendicant orders, the image came to be passed on to numerous secular confraternities set up from the thirteenth century, who were inspired by the example of the friars and who used the Virgin of Mercy as their badge. He particularly notes the importance of the image for the confraternities of the rosary established from the second half of the fifteenth century. He also examines the importance of the iconography of the fourteenth-century Dominican work, the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, in disseminating the image.(fig.34)

The earliest visual examples cited by Perdrizet appear on Cistercian seals dating from the middle decades of the fourteenth-century and emanating from Northern France and the Low Countries. Another trail can also be traced back to Umbria where, in the late thirteenth

century the image was painted by an Umbrian artist, Rainuldus Rainucci of Spoleto.(46) Whilst the Cistercian examples show a partisan Mary protecting her religious order, Rainucci's painting shows the Virgin protecting humankind generally from divine wrath.

VII THE VIRGIN OF MERCY IN ENGLISH MEDIEVAL ART

The examples listed by Perdrizet in his catalogue include no English examples. This is not surprising given the rather scanty evidence for the existence of a tradition of this image in England in the later Middle Ages. The criteria, however, listed by Perdrizet, which encouraged the spread of the image - the activities of the mendicants, the confraternities, the popularity of the *Speculum*, and the waves of plague which hit Europe in the later Middle Ages - affected England in the same way as they did her continental counterparts. The Virgin of Mercy as an iconographic type is also usually an independent image, devoid of any narrative context, and therefore, whether painted or sculpted, easily destroyed. It is not difficult to imagine such images receiving the same thorough treatment by the English iconoclasts as the once ubiquitous image of the Virgin of Pity.(47)

Whilst it is impossible to come to any definitive conclusions on the circulation of the Virgin of Mercy in England, the evidence which does survive and its context gives some indication of the origins of the image in English culture and how it was used and understood. It

will be seen in what follows that the English examples for the most part differ significantly from the main types with which Perdrizet deals, and therefore may add another dimension to the body of work he considers.

Few of those listed in Appendix 1 might be called Virgin of Mercy images of the mainstream type. On the whole they are not large frontal pieces, centrally placed. Contextually many of them appear in marginal areas, on a misericord, for instance, or in the upper light of a window, or as a small panel amongst many others on a chantry chapel. In most examples Mary is not the main protagonist. She shares the scene with Christ or with St Michael. She is often shown sideways, as well as facing the front.

Nearly all of them explicitly deal with the Virgin of Mercy in the context of the Last Judgement. This is conveyed in three ways. First, simply by placing nude rather than clothed figures under her cloak, as in the Gayton misericord and the Stedham wall-painting. Secondly, by showing this image engaged in the scene of the *Psychostasis* with St Michael, as in the fifteenth-century wall-paintings at Bovey Tracey, Corby, Broughton, the sculpted panel at Minehead, and the alabasters. Thirdly, by placing it in a Last Judgement context as in the fourteenth-century image in the City of God manuscript, the Copenhagen Hours, and in the Broughton Doom which has all three elements.

Three contrasting examples taken from the list in the appendix will demonstrate the varying contexts in which

the image functioned and how this may nuance the interpretation. First, the *Civitate Dei* illuminated initial, secondly the destroyed wall-painting from Stedham, and thirdly the group of similarly composed alabaster panels.

VIII THE *CIVITATE DEI* (Oxford, Bod, ms Bodley 691 fol 1v)

A twelfth-century manuscript of Augustine's *Civitate Dei* now in the Bodleian library opens with an historiated initial G dating from the episcopate of John Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter, in the fourteenth century. Grandisson's success as a scholar in civil law and theology, after studying at Paris, brought him preferment in the church whilst in his twenties. In his thirties he was at the Papal Court at Avignon working in international diplomacy and was there consecrated as Bishop in 1327 by his close friend, Pope John XXII. Once he had taken up office in England he rarely travelled outside his diocese, but his early experiences on the continent had given him eclectic tastes.(48) A small group of ivory panels and a pair of orphreys bearing his coat of arms have survived which show a marked penchant for contemporary Tuscan style and iconography.(49). His private and public devotion to the cult of the Virgin is witnessed in the text of his will, and the energy with which he promoted, in the first decade of his episcopate, the celebration of the Octave of the Assumption as a major double feast.(50)

The manuscript is soberly treated and was clearly

made for study not for show. It is neatly annotated throughout in Grandisson's hand, and the opening initial is the only elaborate embellishment in the book.(fig.35)

The figure of the cross-nimbused judge is depicted enthroned on the top horizontal arm of the initial, displaying His wounds which bleed from His hands and side. He is flanked to His right by an angel carrying a cross and three nails, and to His left by another carrying the crown of thorns and the lance. Two censing angels hover on either side of his feet, three further angels appear around the frame formed by the letter playing instruments, and at the bottom two more angels seem to be supporting the entire composition in their arms. Within the initial the crowned standing Virgin holds out her cloak under which stand a group of praying, naked figures apparently all male, some of whom are tonsured, some wear crowns and some mitres. Mary's arms are held out very straight, she stands with her legs astride, and wears an ankle length green and red robe. Above her arms are depicted a sun to her right and a moon to her left.

Retrospectively there is nothing strikingly novel about the main components of this image, although it would seem that there was no widespread tradition in England at this point of the Virgin of Mercy type. Grandisson, however, was an international man with, as has been shown, a taste for the art of northern Italy where the image had already begun to appear in the late thirteenth century. Perhaps he had come across it in Avignon where there was a resident community of Italian artists.(51). The figure of

Christ showing His wounds and surrounded by instruments of the Passion had been well established as a component of Last Judgement iconography in European art since the middle decades of the twelfth century.(52) The iconography of the image as a whole however was young and would have had few established connotations.

Those details which were not to become part of the usual Virgin of Mercy type may therefore be the most important in attempting to probe its significance for Grandisson. These would include the presence of the sun and the moon, Mary's epicene posture and clothing, and the choice of this specific image to introduce Augustine's text in which there is no reference to the Virgin. The main images therefore refer to final judgement, where the Judge is identified with the Redeemer, and the protecting figure of the Virgin which had already appeared in art and literature in the West by this date as representing mercy, protection, and sponsorship of a chosen group. The details add further nuances. The sun and moon above Mary's arms mirror the sun amd moon above the arms of the cross in Passion iconography, so making a connection between the figure of Mary and the image of Christ crucified as representative of divine mercy. The crowned Virgin herself whose female and maternal attributes are so understated - she does not, for instance, wear the conventional veil - suggests an allegorical function in the composition, possibly a reference to *Ecclesia*, with whom the Virgin had frequently been identified by this date, and who was represented iconographically as a crowned woman.(53)

Augustine's work identifies the *Civitate Dei* with the Church which may therefore suggest a reason for the choice of this image for this text.(54)

These elements present in the iconography may be pieced together by turning to texts, arguably familiar to Grandisson, where similar images are created in words. In a text the function of a metaphor is made explicit, so assisting the interpretation of iconography which it may have influenced. Given Grandisson's standing as a high-ranking ecclesiastic and scholar, and his championship of Marian liturgy, it would seem likely that he was well acquainted with St Bernard's Marian sermons, and perhaps especially those delivered on the feasts of the Assumption and the Octave of the Assumption.(55) Two of these sermons contain imagery which echo the *Civitate Dei* miniature which may have furnished the mindset of the man who commissioned it. A brief look at some passages may further amplify the significance of this image for Grandisson, and explain for us his adoption of the motif in this context.

The fourth sermon on the feast of the Assumption takes the Resurrection of Lazarus as the text.(56) It reads in two almost discrete parts, the first dealing with the biblical text, in which Christ figures, and Mary not at all after the first introduction. The second part turns to the occasion of the feast and the virtues and prerogatives of the Virgin. The first section extols Christ's redemptive suffering, and then goes on to interpret Lazarus' four days in the tomb as the four stages in the process of a sinful soul moving towards

penance and surrender to the divine will. It is a challenging exercise and Bernard's words are tough and vigorous. He then turns to the subject of the Virgin and the mood changes from one which incites action to one which gives way to a stunned wonder at the ineffability of Mary's virtue and especially her mercy. The two sections appear unconnected but implicitly a contrast is being set up between two complementary aspects of divine mercy. First, that demonstrated by Christ's self-sacrifice which inspires imitation, and second, that which provides a reassuring context from which this challenge may possibly be met. These two types may be said to be represented by the figures of Christ showing His wounds and the figure of the Virgin of Mercy in the initial.

A specific passage towards the end of this sermon relates the impact of Mary's mercy, conjuring up the image of the protecting cloak and the eternal and universal protection which it provides:

Nam longitudo eius usque in diem novissimum invocantibus eam subvenit universis. Latitudo eius replet orbem terrarum, ut tua quoque misericordia plena sit omnis terra. Sic et sublimitas eius civitate supernae invenit restaurationem, et profundum eius sedentibus in tenebris et in umbra mortis obtinuit redemptionem.(57)

In this sermon Bernard describes the Virgin's mercy as stemming entirely from her role as mother of the Redeemer. This close bonding between Mary and Christ is more fully expressed in another sermon in which Bernard takes the description of the Apocalyptic Woman in Revelation 12 as his text.(58)

The sermon for the Sunday within the Octave of the

Assumption opens with a claim for the necessity of Mary's complementary actions as a merciful mediator. Elsewhere in the text Bernard comes back to the point about the essential partnership between mother and Son, arguing that, as the Fall was brought about by a man and a woman, so Redemption requires the same to redress the balance.(59) The close identity between the two is celebrated in such phrases as:

In te manet et tu in eo: et vesti eum et vestiris ab eo(60)

Bernard is persuasive therefore in encouraging the reader to consider the image of Christ and the Virgin as the complementary components of one entity.

His biblical text is descriptive of an apocalyptic figure which traditionally, as Bernard acknowledges, symbolised the church militant. He does not dismiss this interpretation but sets about adding a Marian gloss too.(61) The description of the Woman of Revelation 12 includes three elements which appear in the Grandisson picture. She appears clothed with the sun, with the moon beneath her feet, and crowned with twelve stars around her head. The sun and the moon are relocated in the picture, and the crown is not made up of stars, but nevertheless they may have both an apocalyptic and an ecclesial reference in the iconography, especially given the Last Judgement setting and the ambiguity of the figure of the Virgin.

Bernard also relocates the sun and the moon, setting the sun in one part of the sermon above the Virgin rather

than as part of her adornment as described in Revelation. Both sermon and iconography therefore set Mary *between* sun and moon, one on a vertical axis and one on a horizontal axis. In the image the figure of the Virgin intervenes on both axes, horizontally between the sun and the moon, and vertically between Christ and those sheltering beneath her cloak. In the sermon Bernard equates Christ with the sun above and the Church with the moon beneath Mary's feet:

Nempe vellus est medium inter rorem et arcam, mulier inter solem et lunam, Maria inter Christum et ecclesiam constituta (62)

The picture painted in words is reminiscent of the initial where the Virgin stands between Christ and the Church, sheltering the latter. The reference to Gideon's fleece, a well established Marian Old Testament type, suggests the idea of a spread garment placed between the dew/Christ and the floor/Church whilst simultaneously emphasising the union between the fleece/Mary and the dew/Christ, a point which Bernard himself makes a few sentences further on. (63)

A final feature of the sermon which links with the image is the fact that Mary is crowned. Bernard sees this as a reciprocal honour bestowed on the Virgin by her son:

Denique et coronavit eum, et vicissim ab eo meruit coronari.(64)

This passage moves into his exegesis of the twelve stars which form the crown, and then the text closes with an

invocation which seems to describe almost completely the Grandisson picture:

Iam te, Mater Misericordiae, per ipsum sincerissimae tuae mentis affectum, tuis iacens provoluta pedibus Luna, mediatricem sibi apud solem iustitiae constitutam devotis supplicationibus interpellat ut in lumine tuo videat lumen, et solis gratiam tuo mereatur obtentu quam vere amavit prae omnibus et ornavit, stola gloriae induens et coronam pulchritudinis ponens in capite tuo.(65)

These sermons help to interpret the *Civitate Dei* miniature and to bridge the gap between an apparently Marian image and a non-Marian text. They demonstrate how the iconography may have been interpreted integrally rather than as a composition of separate elements, and the allegorical possibilities in that intepretation. In this light the iconography conveys a vision of the *Civitate Dei*, a community governed by justice, mediated by mercy, in which the Virgin of Mercy protects, champions and represents the Church. It is also an image of mercy rooted in the Incarnation, explicitly stated by Bernard, and the Redemption, also in Bernard, and to which the sun and moon, the Instruments of the Passion, and the figure of the Virgin in the iconography make reference.

IX THE DESTROYED WALL-PAINTINGS FROM STEDHAM CHURCH, SUSSEX

The wall-painting formerly at Stedham church in Sussex provides a contrasting contemporary example in terms of the social milieu in which it was produced.(fig.36) The Virgin of Mercy was part of a scheme of paintings on the

nave walls which probably dated from the late fourteenth century.(66) The only contemporary record of the wall-paintings surviving are the sketches made just before the mid-nineteenth century demolition by the son of the architect appointed to design the new church. Comments on the paintings were made in two articles written at the same time by the architect and the parish priest about the old church and its contents.(67) Rev Leveson Vernon Harcourt identifies the Virgin of Mercy as a picture of St Ursula, and Mr Butler, the architect, considers the image to represent the church as the Bride of Christ. Christ, as the Man of Sorrows, appears next to her surrounded apparently by a collection of objects, some not identifiable from the drawing.

The image was painted towards the west end of the north nave wall. The other compositions, all separated from each other by painted frames, were St Christopher in its conventional position opposite the south door, and another standing Man of Sorrows surrounded by figures, whom it is not possible to identify from the sketch, which was placed under a romanesque window. Furthest to the east was a Last Judgement cut into by the insertion of a later perpendicular window. A small figure of a Dominican Saint standing in a painted niche was set into the St Christopher scene. It is a feature of these wall-paintings that three of the figures including the two under scrutiny here are painted to give the effect that they are three dimensional sculptural pieces and the Last Judgement is surrounded by a *trompe l'oeil* chevron frame.

These then are a series of unconnected, non-narrative images which, with their painted frames, are akin to what would be in a later age a collection of pictures hanging on a wall. Placed in a church in the later Middle Ages, they have the function to either exhort or console those who look at them.

The figures of Mary and the larger of the two Man of Sorrows images stand in the same frame, and the elaborate canopied niche in which the Virgin stands appears to be lengthened on the right to form a plinth upon which Christ is placed. Contrary therefore to the other pictures, these two are presented in a fashion which would invite the observer to consider them as a pair. Both Harcourt and Butler saw them in this way, although neither identified the Virgin as one of the figures.(68)

The figure of Christ next to Mary appears not to have been a conventional Man of Sorrows surrounded by the Instuments of the Passion, but rather a figure known as Christ of the Trades surrounded by artisans' tools. Amongst them a number of blades, a pair of scales and a two-handled urn can be discerned. The image was quite common in English wall-painting, and was probably intended to discourage Sabbath-breaking.(69)

The Man of Sorrows was a ubiquitous devotional image of the late Middle Ages inspiring *imitatio* and *compassio*, as its Latin title, *imago pietatis* indicates.(70) However, when such an image is represented with Christ's hands raised, the gesture aligns the iconography with that of the Judge in late medieval

apocalyptic iconography such as the Hereford *Mappa Mundi* and the Tewkesbury east window. The Christ of the Trades derivative of this judging type of Man of Sorrows, by bringing Christ's sufferings into the present and targeting a particular group of malefactors, must have had a strongly exhortative edge. A striking example dating from the late fourteenth century at Ormalingen in Switzerland shows the figure of Christ surrounded by tools, holding a vengeful thunderbolt in his hand. The Virgin Mary appears on His right interceding and lifting her arm as if to restrain Him.(71)

In England a close parallel of this type of Christ of the Trades is a wall-painting from the mid fourteenth century at Bishopsbourne in Kent.(fig.37)(72) From the original scheme, which appears to have ranged down both sides of the nave around the nave arcade, five scenes are decipherable, of which two are associated with Judgement, one is from the Passion of Saint Edmund and one from the Miracles of Saint Nicholas. The fifth, the Christ of the Trades, is placed in the middle above the north arcade. He is hemmed in on all sides by blades of varying thickness. There is a small figure kneeling in front. West of him is a scene of the damned being taken in chains to Hell, and opposite is the scene of the Psychostasis. He would appear then to be in the centre of an expanded judgement scene.

Another, this time isolated, similar example of the Christ of the Trades, appears at Fingringhoe in Essex, opposite an image of the Man of Sorrows.(73) The inscription above held up by an angel translates 'In

all works remember the end'. Here too there is a direct reference to judgement.

Returning to the Stedham painting, where it is clear for reasons already specified that the figures of the Virgin of Mercy and Christ of the Trades are to be considered as a pair, it would appear again that the themes of mercy and justice are being treated. Here Christ raises his hands in a gesture familiar in images of the Judge, and reiterated three times in the Stedham sequence - in the other Man of Sorrows image and in the painting of the Last Judgement. Under her cloak the Virgin appears to be protecting naked figures, which provides a reference to final judgement.

In its general features therefore the painting may be compared with the Grandisson miniature, dealing with the same theme, and explicitly, but not so subtly, linking the figures of the judging Christ and the merciful Virgin. In its particulars, however, the Stedham composition is tailored for its context. In particular it portrays an image of ongoing judgement. Christ presides over a group of emblems representing topical misdemeanours. It operates as a didactic image, rather than one which glosses a text.

X A GROUP OF FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH ALABASTER PANELS

The final type of English Virgin of Mercy to be examined survives in a group of sculpted alabasters. Similar examples can also be seen in the fifteenth-century Minehead stone relief and a small group of wall-

paintings. They are distinguished by the following features: first, the image is combined with the *Psychostasis* in which the Virgin uses a rosary to interfere with the balancing process undertaken by St Michael; secondly, the souls sheltering under the cloak are naked; thirdly, the Virgin is always crowned.(fig.38) It appears to be an iconographic type peculiar to England and all the surviving examples date from the fifteenth century or possibly early sixteenth century.(74) The discussion of this group of images forms a link passage between this chapter and the next, in which the *Psychostasis* with the Virgin intervening will be considered.

The image differs from the other two considered because it depicts a dramatic episode rather than an emblematic image. The souls appear under the shelter of Mary's cloak, perhaps observing, or waiting to go forward to be weighed in the scales. She places a rosary on the beam of the balance on the same side as the soul so that it assists in helping the good deeds outweigh the bad. Whilst the surviving English examples of the Virgin of Mercy with the rosary motif date from the end of the middle ages, iconographic precedents exist from the first half of the fourteenth-century of the Virgin of Mercy interfering with the weighing of souls without the rosary. On a wall-painting in the church at Birkerod in Denmark, Mary, crowned, shelters souls above a scene of the General Resurrection. She blesses the scales which St Michael holds whilst the words *Ave Maria* are inscribed between her

and the archangel. The scene is opposed to an image of the Judge with the lily and the sword, flanked by the Instruments of the Passion.(75) A Last Judgement scene therefore is here composed of familiar motifs of justice and mercy. In terms of the later English group, the most significant detail of the Birkerod wall-painting is the inscription which may indicate the development of this type in response to a specific late medieval devotion - the Marian Psalter and the related devotion of the rosary.

The practice of using beads as an aid to prayer had emerged slowly in western Christianity.(76) In the *Ancrene Wisse* of the thirteenth century the repeating of *Aves* in groups of ten is recommended, which may imply the use of beads to count them. The text also seems to suggest repeated *Aves* and *Pater Nosters* as an alternative for those unable to undertake more complex devotions.(77) The devotion involving repeated prayers counted on beads evolved from the more complex psalter of Mary which was in existence by the early thirteenth century.(78) Following the number of the psalms in the Old Testament this consisted of one hundred and fifty strophes each of which began with the *Ave* and into which an appropriate verse from one of the psalms was worked. A number of versions of the Marian psalter exist including ones in Middle English in the fourteenth-century Vernon manuscript attributed to Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure.(79) A slightly earlier fourteenth-century example contains a number of invocations to the Virgin to shelter her devotees under her cloak:

Ps.9. Mater misericordie, intercede pro nobis, que semper a deo in tuis orationibus honoraris, et pallium tuum extende super nos, in quo super totam mundi gloriam elevaris.

Ps.126. Surge ergo, regina paradisi, et pro nobis orare digneris. Surge, gloriosa domina paradisi, et nos humiliter custodire sub tuo pallio ne moreris (80)

A simplified version of this devotion was the reciting of *Aves*, which eventually after the middle of the fifteenth century became structured into the rosary devotion of one hundred and fifty *Aves* interpolated with fifteen *Pater Nosters*. This devotion was also known as 'Our Lady's Psalter' because it derived from that source. Because of its repetitive nature, the use of beads to count the prayers was an obvious development.

The practice of counting *Aves* and *Pater Nosters* on beads was clearly well established amongst the pious laity in the fourteenth century as can be seen by the appearance of prayer beads on contemporary funerary monuments.(81) At the beginning of the fifteenth century the term 'rosary' first began to be applied to the practice, possibly encouraged by the association of this flower with the cult of the Virgin.(82) In 1475 the first confraternity of the rosary was founded in Cologne inspired by the preaching of the Dominican, Jacob Sprenger.(83) An altarpiece was made for the church of St Andreas where the service took place. Although this no longer survives, a replacement was made c.1500 based on the original. It shows a central image of the Virgin of Mercy flanked by Saints. The Virgin cradles Christ in her arms who holds a rosary, and shelters clerical and lay figures under her cloak. Angels hold a triple chaplet of roses above the Virgin's head.(84)

The Virgin of Mercy was the emblem of the rosary confraternities.(85) The *Ave Maria* of the Birkerod painting and the rosary of the English group, all appearing with this particular Marian type may represent a vision of the efficacy of both the saying of the Marian psalter and the rosary as a means to individual salvation. Numerous wills bear witness to the practice of these devotions for the benefit of the soul of the deceased. In, for instance, the will of John, Lord Scrope of Masham dated 1441, he requires that the Marian Psalter should be recited at his funeral "beseeching God that he would grant to my soul life everlasting".(86)

A poem by Lydgate, *Ave Jesse Virgula*, addresses Mary who with *Thy merciful mantel lete cloth al in the shade.* In a later verse he asks her help on the day that his sins are weighed in the balance.(87) Although the rosary is not mentioned here, Lydgate otherwise expresses verbally the iconography of the group.

A literary work which brings together teaching on the efficacy of the rosary for souls in purgatory frequently using the image of the scales and of souls sheltered by Mary's cloak, is a book of *exempla* written down by a follower of the Dominican, Alain de la Roche, in 1479.(88) Were it not for bureaucratic delays at the Vatican, Alain himself would have been the founder of the first rosary confraternity, a process which he began at Douai in 1470. He was a passionate preacher of the devotion, active not only in his native Brittany, but also in Northern France and the Low Countries.(89)

The *exempla* he used to convert his audiences have all the colour, vivacity and brashness which characterises so much popular art of the fifteenth century. Many of the stories are said to have taken place during the life of St Dominic and often concern the effectiveness of the rosary in overturning infernal punishments for the misdeeds of malefactors when their souls are judged.

In one story St Dominic is granted a vision of the healing brought to souls suffering in purgatory through the praying of a rosary by a courtesan.(90) Amazed, he asks the Virgin how a sinner can effect this, to which she replies:

Nescis quod peccatorum sum amica, et quod in manu mea posita est Dei clementia

She goes on to say that the example of Catharine the courtesan shows that sinners should not despair but have confidence in God, especially those who wish to shelter under the Virgin's cloak with Catharine:

...signanter illi qui volunt sub chlamidem mean confugere cum Catharina.

The *exemplum* shows the efficacity of the rosary for those in purgatory, and indicates that the image of the Virgin of Mercy in this context represents both protection and championship. Catharine both shelters under the Virgin's cloak and, from that vantage point, uses the devotion of the rosary to pray for others. The Virgin describes herself as the manager of divine mercy, so the cloak motif becomes a symbol of that.

This group of alabasters therefore appears to show divine justice in the motif of the scales tempered by divine mercy in the form of the Virgin of Mercy which is activated by the devotion of the rosary. The original context of these alabaster panels would provide a valuable resource for their intepretation. The majority of English alabasters were made up into altarpieces, although some remained as single devotional panels.(91) If any of these come from dismembered altarpieces it is difficult to imagine from the surviving evidence with what subjects they would have appeared in conjunction. An English alabaster Virgin of Mercy panel of the more conventional mainstream European type does survive as a flanking figure of part of a Te Deum altarpiece now in Genoa.(92) The panels under discussion, however, since they depict an action rather than an emblem would seem more appropriate in an expanded judgement scheme.

In this chapter the history of the image of the Virgin of Mercy has been discussed as a literary metaphor which in the later Middle Ages became visualised. Special attention has been given to the history of this image in English art where it has survived in contexts which do not find a common counterpart in European art as a whole. The three English examples studied have shown how the image takes on different nuances according to context. The Grandisson miniature closely bonds the figures of Christ and the Virgin in its representation of divine mercy through the Incarnation, the Passion and at the Last Judgement. Here, that aspect of the Virgin of Mercy type

which represents championship of a specific group is realised through the intepretation of the Virgin as Ecclesia protecting her people. It is the smallest of the three examples, but the most universal in what it represents. The Stedham painting is less complex and more didactic, and there is a more precise division between the Virgin of Mercy and the judging figure of Christ of the Trades. The alabasters demonstrate the link forged between a particular iconographic motif and a particular devotion. The devotion of the rosary has its distant roots in the protective imagery of the Psalms discussed at the opening of the chapter. Through the Marian salutations of the Akathistos hymn, and certain passages in the Marian psalters of the later middle ages, this image was adopted to accompany the most simplified form of these devotions - the repetitive *Aves* and *Pater Nosters* of the rosary. *Exempla* promoting the devotion show, however, that the image is not simply an advertisement, it is also an illustration of the operation of mercy activated through devout practices.

A mid-fourteenth century fresco in Florence sums up this Marian image as a type of divine mercy which has its origins in the protecting metaphors of the psalms. A female figure shelters mortals under her cloak. An inscription on her diadem identifies her as *Misericordia Domini*. Upon her breast is a quotation from Psalm 32 which contains a number of images of sheltering and protection:

Tu es refugium meum a tribulatione, quae circumdedit me: exultatio mea erue me a circumdantibus me

and

...sperantem autem in Domino misericordia circumdabit.(93)

The Virgin's protecting garment is essentially an image of intervention. It intervenes against external and internal malignant forces. In judgement iconography it intervenes against the just sentence. The next chapter deals with another metaphor of intervention - the Marian *Psychostasis*.

APPENDIX 1

THE VIRGIN OF MERCY IN ENGLISH ART

The following list of surviving images of the Virgin of Mercy in English art aims to be comprehensive. However, the categorisation cannot be absolutely clear-cut. There is not always a consensus concerning the identity of the protecting figure as the Virgin. Compositionally the images vary and few are of the hierarchical frontal type common in continental examples. The lack of definitive documentation on surviving English alabaster panels owing to their widespread distribution throughout Europe means that the group listed here may not represent all surviving examples.

Fourteenth century

London, BL, Harley ms 2356, fol. 7. Early-fourteenth-century Dominican psalter. Full page drawing preceding the Psalms showing the Virgin of Mercy sheltering four standing Dominicans. Above, God brandishes arrows towards a city. Next to the·city walls five people pray to the Virgin on their knees. This type relates to the Virgin of Mercy as she is depicted in chapter 38 of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* which is of Dominican origin. In the text Mary is described as defending humankind from the devil, the traps of the world and the vengeance of Christ. The Old Testament type given for this chapter is Thearbis defending Saba against Moses. The psalter drawing is discussed by N. Morgan in 'Texts and Images of Marian Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England' in *Harlaxton English Medieval Studies III*, ed., N. Rogers (Stamford: Paul Watkin, 1993) pp 49-50.

Oxford, Bod, Bodley ms 691, fol 1v. Twelfth-century manuscript of Augustine's *Civitate Dei* with illuminated opening initial 'G' added during the episcopate of John Grandisson of Exeter (1327-69). See chapter 4, part VIII.

Vienna Osterreichische National bibliothek cod. 1826, fol 141 (Vienna Psalter) c.1360-1373. Large historiated initial introducing the Penitential Psalms. The Virgin shelters souls under her cloak as part of the Last Judgement. Produced for the Bohun family. L. F. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385*, 2 vols, *SMIBI* 5 (1986) 2, no.133.

Copenhagen. Kongelige Bibl., Thott 547.4, fol 32v (Copenhagen Hours) 1380-1394. Large historiated initial introducing the Penitential Psalms. Composition similar to the Vienna Psalter initial. The *bas de page* illustrations on the pages introducing the hours all represent scenes from Marian miracles including the Jew of Bourges and Theophilus. Produced for the Bohun family. Sandler (1986) no.140, pl.366.

Stedham, Sussex. Wall-painting on the north wall of the nave dating from the second half of the fourteenth century judging by the architectural style of the canopy under which the Virgin of Mercy stands. Destroyed when the church was demolished in the mid nineteenth century. See chapter 4, part IX.

Fifteenth century

Oxford, Corpus Christi College ms 161, p.149. Early fifteenth century. In a manuscript of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* bound with various other devotional texts. Probably from York. K.L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1385-1485*, 2 vols, *SMIBI* 6 (1996) 2, no.40

Corby, Lincolnshire. Parish church of St John the Evangelist. Wall-painting on the west end of the north aisle dating from the early fifteenth century. The Virgin of Mercy puts her rosary into the scales held by St Michael. She shelters about thirty naked souls arranged in pairs. A tonsured donor figure kneels between St Michael and the Virgin. See E. Clive Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in the church of St John the Evangelist, Corby, Lincs', *Archaeological Journal* 100 (1943) 150-176.

Little Hampden, Bucks. Parish church. Wall-painting on the south wall of the nave representing a Virgin of Mercy who is interfering with the weighing of the souls by St Michael. Now difficult to decipher. The image appears to be set in the context of the Last Judgement. Compare with Broughton below, also in Bucks. See A. Caiger-Smith, *English Medieval Mural Painting* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963) pp 132-133.

Formerly in the collection of Sir Ronald Storrs (present owner unknown). Alabaster panel. Early fifteenth century (set in chamfered frame). The Virgin of Mercy puts her rosary into the scales held by St Michael. She shelters one naked, standing soul in prayer. St Michael and the Virgin hold phylacteries but no writing is now legible on them. See W.L. Hildburgh, 'An English Alabaster Carving of St Michael Weighing a Soul' *Burlington Magazine* 89 (1947) 129-131.

London, Victoria and Albert Museum (A 145-1946). Alabaster panel. Early fifteenth century (set in chamfered frame). The Virgin of Mercy puts her rosary into the scales held by St Michael. She shelters three naked souls, one represented simply by the back of the head. See F. Cheetham, *English Medieval Alabasters*, (London: Phaidon, 1984) p.133.

Paris, Musee de Cluny. Alabaster panel fragment. Fifteenth century. The general composition is similar to the alabaster panels referred to above.

Paris, Musee du Louvre. Alabaster panel. Fifteenth century (no frame). The Virgin of Mercy puts her rosary into the scales held by St Michael. She shelters two naked souls under her cloak. Two others kneel in prayer before her. A phylactery scrolls around the Virgin's head.

Genoa, Palazzo Bianco. Alabaster panel. Fifteenth century. The Virgin of Mercy sheltering ten souls under her cloak. Apparently a flanking panel to a *Te Deum* altarpiece of which three main panels survive. See chapter 4, n.92.

Bovey Tracey, Devon. Church of SS Peter, Paul and Thomas. Wall-painting formerly above the arcade on the south side of the nave. Fifteenth century. Discovered in 1858, but now faded

away. The Virgin of Mercy shelters twenty-two naked figures, some standing, some kneeling. A larger kneeling clothed figure is part of the group, to the side. The earliest published drawing after the painting was uncovered depicts the Virgin sheltering with one arm, whilst the other holds a very long rosary which stretches to St Michael's scales. See *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Society*, 6 (1861), pl.39. The notes made by E.W. Tristram, deposited in the Tristram archive in the National Survey of Medieval Wall-Painting at the Courtauld Institute also refer to the Virgin sheltering with her arms. The composition is not inconsistent with the possibility that the Virgin did originally shelter with a cloak, but the arms motif, if authentic, is an unusual one. See also Gayton misericord below.

Broughton, Bucks., Church of St Lawrence. Part of a Doom wall-painting on the north wall of the nave. Second half of the fifteenth century. The Virgin of Mercy shelters naked figures under her cloak and puts her hand on the beam of St Michael's scales. A rosary is entwined around the beam. A figure rising from a tomb immediately behind the scales may be associated with the individual judgement. See J. Edwards, 'The Wall-Paintings in St Lawrence's church, Broughton', *Records of Buckinghamshire*, 26 (1984) 44-55

Minehead, Somerset. Church of St Michael. Carved stone panel set high up on the exterior wall of the east side of the west tower which dates from c.1490. The style of the panel is similar in most details to the alabaster group and may pre-date the tower. See W.L. Hildburgh,(1947) 129-131. The Virgin of Mercy places her rosary on the scales of St Michael.

Stamford, Lincs. Church of St John's. Stained glass panels in the head of a window. 1451 (according to an eighteenth-century record of an inscription which no longer survives). The Virgin of Mercy appears in the top left light, sheltering clothed figures both male and female, and holding a palm in her left hand. The top right light features God the Father, crowned, hands open, and blessing with His right hand. A napkin is placed between His hands containing naked souls. Four flanking lights below, feature female personifications of Hope, Faith, Charity and Wisdom (inscribed *Sancta Spes, Sancta Fides* etc). A fragment of an inscription appears below God the Father and the Virgin. These images appear to belong together and to be in their original position. This context for a Virgin of Mercy seems to be a unique survival in English art. That the image may be identified with a Virgin of Mercy must, however, be open to question. Her position in the scheme argues for this identity, but the fact that she is not crowned, unlike most contemporary images of the Virgin of Mercy, and that the figures she shelters are clothed, may indicate that she represents St Ursula. I am grateful to Anna Eavis of the CVMA for bringing this glass to my attention.

Little Hampden church, Bucks. See Appendix 2

Bisley, Glos. Church of All Saints. See Appendix 2

Lanivet, Cornwall, Church of St Ive.(fig.39) Wall-painting formerly on south wall of nave in a window splay. Late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. A standing female figure the head of which was no longer visible could still be seen in the 1860s. She sheltered four figures under her cloak and held out a rosary in her right hand. The composition was closely visually associated with a figure of Christ of the Trades on the adjoining wall to the west. See T.Q. Couch, 'Parochialia' *Journal of the Royal Institute of Cornwall 1* (1864-1865) 71-81.

Sixteenth century.

Exeter, Devon. Cathedral. Exterior of chantry of Precentor Sylke c.1520.(fig.40) A simple frontal Virgin of Mercy but the head is missing and the figures under the cloak have been damaged. Damaged (head missing). Other sculptures nearby on the chantry include the *Pieta* and Deposition. See N. Orme, 'The Medieval Chantries of Exeter Cathedral' in *Devon and Cornwall: Notes and Queries. Part 3* 35/2 (Autumn 1982) 67-71 (p.68).

Gayton, Northants. Church of St Mary. Late medieval carved misericord. Most westerly on north side of chancel. The Virgin of Mercy holds out her arms with two small nude figures sheltering on each side, clinging to the hem of her garment. There are clouds around the Virgin's head. She does not wear a cloak. Flowers and foliage appear on the supporters.

CHAPTER FOUR.

ENDNOTES

1. From a fifteenth-century missal. *AH* 49, p.91.

2. The various titles given by art historians to this image are listed in *Réau*, 2, part 2, p.112. See pp 112-119 for Réau's analysis of the image. For a more recent study of the type in German art see A. Thomas, 'Schutzmantelmaria' in *Die Gottesmutter: Marienbild in Rheinland und in Westfalen*. Herausgegeben von Leonhard Kuppers (Recklinghausen: Aurel Bongers, 1974) pp 227-242. For comments on English fourteenth-century examples see N.Morgan,'Texts and Images of Marian Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England', in *Harlaxton Medieval English Studies*, 3, ed. N. Rogers (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1993) 34-57 (pp 49-50).

3. P. Deschamps & M. Thibout, *La Peinture Murale en France au début de l'époque Gothique*. (Paris: Centre National de la recherche scientifique,1963) p.194.

4. See P.Perdrizet, *La Vierge de Miséricorde. Étude d'un Thème Iconographique*, (Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1908) p.23. For social traditions in marriage and feudalism involving the action of spreading a cloak over someone. In *Ruth* 3:9, Ruth asks Boaz to spread his cloak over her as an expression of kinship (*expande pallium tuum super famulam tuam, quia propinquus es*). A tenth-century ivory panel from Magdeburg now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York shows a Saint sponsoring a donor by putting his arm over him. See P. Lasko, *Ars Sacra: 800-1200*, 2nd ed.(New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1994) pl.124.

5. See Pss 17:8; 36:7; 57:1; 61:4; 63:7; 91:4

6. *Scapulis suis obumbrabit tibi: et sub pennis eius sperabis.*

7. *Matthew* 23:37 and similar in *Luke* 13:34.

8. The Cistercian, Adam of Perseigne, uses an image inspired by this passage to describe a prelate's care for his flock. Cited in C. Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*, (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982) p.125.

9. See *The Prymer*, ed. H. Littlehales, part 1, *EETS* OS 105 (1895), part 2, *EETS* OS 109 (1897).

10. See chapter 1, n.11.

11. H. Barré, *Prières Anciennes de l'Occident à la Mère du Sauveur*, (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1963) pp 97-99.

12. G.G.Meersseman, *The Acathistos Hymn* (Fribourg: The University Press, 1958) p.55.

13. See chapter 3, part VIII for Mary presiding over the Court of Mercy and chapter 5 for her interference with the scales of justice. For the Virgin as *advocata* see chapter 1, n.12. The epithet was particularly popularised in the West through its appearance in the eleventh-century *Salve Regina*. Another Marian epithet, *patrocinia*, has similar connotations. For a twelfth-century example see *Poésie Liturgique*, ed., U.Chevalier (Tournai: Desclée, Lefèbvre, 1894) no.175.

14. Wilson surveys the origins and variations of this widely circulated legend in *The Stella Maris of John of Garland* (Cambridge, Mass: The Medieval Academy of America, 1946) pp 157-159. A Middle-English version appears in *Mirk's Festiall*, ed., T.Erbe, *EETS* ES 96 (1905) p.227, which describes how Mary saved the boy "from the fyre wyth her mantell-lappe about hym". Another version appears in *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript*, eds., C. Horstmann & F.J. Furnivall, *EETS* 98, 2 vols (1892), I, p.153. Here the boy implies that the figure who shielded him from the flames was the statue of the Virgin and Child from the church.

15. The protecting garment of the Virgin celebrated in the Greek church was her veil. It was venerated in the Chapel of the Blachernes in Constantinople from the fifth century. See I.M.Vloberg, 'La Vierge d'intercession dans l'iconographie ancienne', *Vie Spirituelle*, 2 (1938) 105-127 (pp 113-114). An eighth-century sermon preached at the chapel of the Blachernes by Germanus invokes the Virgin to protect with her wings (see Graef, p.150). The western visual image of the Virgin of Mercy has a Greek counterpart in the vision of the tenth-century figure, Andrew the Innocent, who saw Mary extending the veil to offer protection and shelter to the city of Constantinople. The theme passed into Russian art in the twelfth century and frequently appears on Greek and Russian icons. See, for example, exhib. cat. *Icons from Russia* (London: Victorian and Albert Museum, 1993) pp 186-188 & cat.no.52).

16. See *Liber de Miraculis Sanctae Mariae*, I, ed., T.F. Crane (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1925) p.xv.

17. John of Garland (1946) p.107 & pp 166-167.

18. M.R. James & E.W. Tristram, *The Wall-Paintings in Eton College and in the Lady Chapel of Winchester Cathedral*, Walpole Society, vol 17 (London, 1929)

pl.21. The miracle is illustrated in both locations, but only the Winchester paintings feature the cloak.

19. See H.P.J.M. Ahsmann, *Le Culte de la Sainte Vierge et la Littérature Française Profane du Moyen Âge* (Utrecht: N.V.Dekker & Van de Vegt en J.W. Van Leewen, 1930) p.80

20. Ahsmann (1930) p.92

21. P. Beterous,' Les Collections des Miracles de la Vierge en Gallo et Ibero-Roman au XIII siecle', *Marian Library Studies*, n.s. 15-16 (Dayton, Ohio: 1983-4), p.188

22. Beterous (1983-4) pp 186-187.

23. Amadée de Lausanne, *Huit Homelies Mariales*, ed., G. Bavaud (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1960).

24. Bernard's use of the metaphor in his Marian sermons is treated below

25. See Graef, pp 224-7

26. Bavaud (1960) p.207.

27. The thirteenth-century north tympanum of the Frauenkirche in Trier is a close visual equivalent to this arboreal type of the Virgin of Mercy.

28. Bridget of Sweden, *Liber Celestis*, ed. R. Ellis, 2 vols, *EETS* 291 (1987).

29. *Liber Celestis* (1987) 1, p.176.

30. *Liber Celestis* (1987) 1, p.220.

31 *Liber Celestis* (1987) 1, p.258.

32. For example, from the fourteenth century, 'A Preiere to Ore Ladi', lines 14-24 & 'Another Prayer to the Virgin Mary', lines 19-20 in *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript* (1892), I, pp 22-23 & 33; 'Hymn from the Speculum Christiani', lines 1-24 in *The Wheatley Manuscript*, ed., M.Day , *EETS* OS 155 (1921), pp.74-75. From the fifteenth century, 'Ballade at the Reverence of Our Lady, Queen of Mercy', v.7, in which the Virgin is asked to spread her *mantel of myserycord over our 'mischef'*, and to *wrappe us undyr thi weed*; also 'An Orison to the Five Joys of Our Lady, lines 4-6; 'Ave Jesse Virgula', v.5; 'Stella Celi Extirpat II', line 8 in *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed. H.N. MacCracken, 2 vols, *EETS* ES 107 (1911), I, pp 256, 133, 300 & 295.

33. See chapter 1.

34. F.J.E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the beginnings to the close of the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed.(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953) pp 450-451.

35. Raby (1953), p.451.

36. *Esto nobis refugium/ Apud patrem et filium.* Littlehales (1895) p.

37. Raby (1953), p.448.

38. In *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ*, ed., F.J.Furnivall *EETS* 24 (1867) pp 18-20. A biblical expression of this idea appears in Ps.90:14 (*Repleti sumus mane misericordia tua*); St Augustine concisely summed it up in the *Super Octonarium XIX - Misericordia hic, iudicium futuro* - which Peter Lombard quotes in the Sentences (*Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae*, 2 vols (Rome: Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claros Aquos, 1981) 2, bk 4, dist. 46, ch.9). Thomas Aquinas explains why mercy comes before judgement in *Summa Theologiae*, (ed., & trans., Thomas Gilby, 60 vols (London & New York: Blackfriars, 1963-7), 5 (1967) prima pars, qu.21, art.4) in which he argues that only divine mercy provides humankind with the right to divine justice (*Opum autem divinae iustitiae semper praesupponit opus misericordiae, et in eo fundatur*). For a fifteenth-century expression of the idea in popular literature see *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate* (1911), I p.329.

39. See also the prayer which appears in the primer, *D*omine Jesu Christe, which was sung at Lauds, Prime, Terce & Compline (Littlehales (1895) p.15). Also a prayer which appears in some versions of the *Ars Moriendi* which includes the line, translated in this edition into modern english, 'Lord, I put thy death between thy judgement and me' (*The Book of the Craft of Dying*, ed., F.M.M. Comper, new ed. (New York: Arno Press, 1977) p.66).

40. For example two paintings dating from the end of the Middle Ages in which Christ and His mother protect their devotees behind them against a figure of God the Father who is visiting disaster on the world. See P. Dinzelbacher, 'Die Totende Gottheit. Pestbild und Todesikonographie als Ausdruck der Mentalitat des Spatmittelalters und der Renaissance' in *Analecta Cartusiana* 117 (1986) 2, 5-138, pls. 12 & 16.

41. See Dinzelbacher (1986) pl.15

42. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ms 791, fol. 4v. Canterbury, c.1200.

43. Repr. in Adey Horton Archive, University of Bristol, with no further reference.

44. Siena, Opera del Duomo. See J.H.Stubblebine, *Duccio di Buononsegna and his School* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979) p.20.

45. L. Silvy, 'L'Origine de la Vierge de Misericorde', *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 35 (1905), 401-410; Perdrizet (1908). For suggested classical sources for the Virgin of Mercy see S. Solway, 'A numismatic source of the Virgin of Mercy', *Art Bulletin* 67 (1985) 359-367. The representation of personifications of *Pietas* and *Concordia* on Roman coins sheltering figures under their cloaks has a bearing on the connection between the iconography of the Virgin and that of related allegorical figures discussed in chapter 7.

46. The Pitcairn Collection, Philadelphia.

47. For the ubiquity of the English Virgin of Pity refer to the gazeteer in E. Waterton, *Pietas Mariana Britannica* (London: St Joseph Catholic Library, 1879) part 2.

48. For Grandisson as a patron of the arts see exhib. cat. *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400*, ed. J. Alexander & P. Binski (London, Royal Academy of Arts with Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1987) pp 463-467; N. Stratford, 'Bishop Grandisson and the Visual Arts' in *Exeter Cathedral: a celebration*, ed. M.Swanton (Crediton: Southgate, 1991) pp.146-150; H.F. Fulford Williams, 'The Vestments of Bishop Grandisson now in the Azores' *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art*, 94 (1962) 613-622.

49. *Age of Chivalry* (1987) nos. 593-596.

50. N. Orme, *Exeter Cathedral 1050-1550*, (Exeter: Devon Books,1986) pp 85-86. See also John Cherry, 'The Ring of Bishop Grandisson', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Exeter Cathedral*, Conference Transactions of the British Archaeological Association for 1985, ed., F. Kelly (1991) 205-209. The two rings of Grandisson which have survived both carry depictions of the Virgin and Child. The inscription on one of them reads, *Ego sum Mater Misericordie.*

51. For Avignon in the fourteenth century see *The Dictionary of Art*, 33 vols (London: Macmillan, 1996) 2, pp 858-863.

52. See chapter 3, parts II & III.

53. For example, the fourteenth-century figure of the crowned *Ecclesia* formerly on the south transept portal of Strasbourg Cathedral and now in the Cathedral museum.

54. Augustine of Hippo, *Civitate Dei*, bk 8, ch 24; bk 13, ch 16; bk 20, ch 11.

55. See chapter 1, n.58.

56. *Sancta Bernardi Opera*, eds., J. Leclercq & H. Rochais, 8 vols (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957-1977) 5 (1968) pp 244-250.

57. Leclercq & Rochais 5 (1968) pp.249-250.

58. Because of the adoption of the text from *Revelation*, the sermon is often known as *In Signum Magnum*. Leclercq & Rochais 5 (1968) pp 262-274.

59. *Congruum magis, ut adesset nostrae reparationi sexus uterque, quorum corruptioni neuter defuisset.* Leclercq & Rochais 5 (1968) p.262.

60. Leclercq & Rochais 5 (1968) p.266.

61. Leclercq & Rochais 5 (1968) p.263.

62. Leclercq & Rochais 5 (1968) p.265.

63. *Sed forte miraris non tam vellus opertum rore quam amictam sole mulierem.*

64. Leclercq & Rochais 5 (1968) p.266.

65. Leclercq & Rochais 5 (1968) p.274. The Woman of Revelation as the Virgin mediating between Christ and the Church, as described here by Bernard, was taken up by other authors later in the medieval period. See Richard of St Victor (d.1173), *PL* 196, cols 517-518. Also, in the fifteenth century, Denys the Carthusian, *'De Vita et Fine Soltarii'*. II. Art. VII, *Opera Minora*, 42 vols (Tournai, 1896-1913) 6 (1909) p.309

66. Stedham church had a romanesque nave, early English chancel and a seventeenth-century tower between nave and chancel. It was demolished in the mid nineteenth century to make way for a larger construction.

67. J.E. Butler, 'Antiquities of Stedham Church', *Sussex Archaeological Society*, 4 (1851) 19-21; Rev. L. Vernon Harcourt, 'The Mural Paintings recently discovered in Stedham Church', *Sussex Archaeological Society*, 4 (1851) 1-18.

68. E.W. Tristram identified the Stedham painting as the Virgin of Mercy in E.Tristram, *English Wall-*

Paintings of the Fourteenth Century (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955) p.125. Harcourt's suggested identity of the figure with St Ursula is not convincing because the figure does not carry Ursula's usual attribute, an arrow, and because of the pairing with Christ. St Ursula, however, was normally represented sheltering her Virgin companions under her cloak, and late medieval English examples do survive, such as the one on the early-sixteenth century Oldham chantry in Exeter Cathedral. Other saints too may be depicted in this way, for example a free-standing fifteenth-century figure now in the Louvre, identified as St Mary Magdalene. Réau makes reference to other figures represented in the same way (2, part 2, p.113). Butler's suggestion that she represents *Ecclesia* is also dubious since the figure is not crowned. It is hard to guage the conscious association between this image of the Virgin and the Church in a parochial environment.

69. For other fourteenth-century examples see Tristram (1955) pp 121-125 and pp 302-303. See also Introduction, notes 4 & 5. A sixteenth-century example in stained glass survives as a loose panel in St Neot's vicarage, Cornwall.

70. Schiller, 2, pp 197-205.

71. Schiller, 2, fig. 691.

72. Tristram (1955) p.141. The wall-painting was uncovered in 1835 and reported in the Times (2nd August) as an unidentified figure with his neck pierced by swords and carrying a bow, quiver and another weapon. The bow and quiver are no longer visible, but it is clear that the blades around the head of Christ have their handles and not their points towards His face. The presence of the donor and the Last Judgement context establishes the identity of the figure as Christ.

73. See Rev G. M. Benton, 'The Church of St Ouen, Fingringhoe', *JBAA*, 3rd series II (1937) 155-191; Mr Forster, 'Distemper Paintings in Fingringhoe Church', *Essex Archaeological Society*, n.s. 3 (1885-1889) 118-120.

74. See chapter 5.

75. For Birkerod, see U. Haastrup, *Danske Kalkmalerier. Tidlig gotik 1275-1375* (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, 1989) pp 47-48.

76. For the development of the use of prayer beads in western christianity see H.Thurston., 'The Rosary', *The Month*, 96 (1900) 620-637; 97 (1901) 67-79, 172-188, 286-304; also E. Wilkins, *The Rose-*

Garden Game, (London: Victor Gollancz, 1969), pp 64-80.

77. *Ancrene Wisse*, trans., H. White (London: Penguin Books, 1993) pp 3, 22, 24 & 26. See also an interesting entry in the gild certificates listed in the appendix to H.F. Westlake, *The Parish Guilds of Medieval England* (London: SPCK,1919) p.203. A certificate for a guild founded in Norwich at the church of SS Simon and Jude in 1307 contains an entry calling on members if "lettered" to say *placebo* and *dirige* for the dead and if "unlettered" to say "simpler devotions" which might well imply repetitive prayers said on beads. A similar instruction was given to the lettered members of the guild of St Katherine in Norwich whilst the unlettered were called on to say twenty times the *Pater Noster* with *Ave Maria*. See *The Early English Guilds*, ed., L. Toulmin Smith, *EETS* OS (1870) pp 19-21.

78. See Waterton (1879) p.149.

79. *Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript* (1892) pp 49-121.

80. Quoted in A.Thomas (1974) p.232

81. The earliest surviving representation of prayer beads on an English funerary monument appears on the tomb of Blanche Grandisson (d.1347) in the church at Much Marcle, Herefordshire.

82. Wilkins (1969) pp 105-125 & pp 149-172.

83. Wilkins (1969) pp 41-42.

84. Repr. in A.Thomas (1974) fig. 85.

85. See Perdrizet (1908) chapter 4.

86. Quoted in Waterton (1879) p.214. Also a number of references appear in Westlake (1919) to the practise amongst fourteenth-century guilds of saying the Marian psalter for a deceased member. For example, Guild of the Ascension, Swaffham, Norfolk, founded 1341; Guild of St Peter, Tuttington, Norfolk, founded 1381-2; Guild of the Holy Trinity and St Leonard, Lancaster, founded 1377. See Thurston (1900) p.631 for appearance of rosary in English printed primers of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.

87. *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate* (1911) I, p.299.

88. Alanus de Rupe, *Redivivius de psalterio seu rosario Christi ac Mariae, eiusdemque fraternitate rosaria*, ed., A. Coppenstein (1624). For Alanus' career see Thurston (1901) pp 287-301.

89. Wilkins (1969) pp 40-41; O'Carroll, pp 9-10

90. De Rupe (1624) ch.59, pp 506-513.

91. For example, alabaster panels depicting John the Baptist's head seem to have been intended as individual devotional panels. Some still retain their original wooden housing. See F. Cheetham, *English Medieval Alabasters*, (Oxford: Phaidon, 1984) pp 317-332.

92. See Philip Nelson, 'Some Further Examples of English Medieval Alabaster Tables', *Archaeological Journal*, 74 (1917) 106-121. Cheetham (1984) p.311

93. Perdrizet (1908) pp 150-151.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE MARIAN *PSYCHOSTASIS*

Be with us present, shew thy fair face
Help Michael! weye with us in the ballaunce,
When we shal deye, and Sathan doth manace
Al our proteccioun stant in thy governaunce;
That dreadful day to save us froo myschaunce
Thow hevenly ffenestrall, sole radiata,
Releve alle thoo, by mercyful purviaunce,
That seyn of herte, O Ave Jesse Virgula (1)

The topos under scrutiny in the following chapter is that which shows St Michael weighing souls in the scales. The Virgin intervenes in this process by weighing down the balance usually with a rosary, or simply by the pressure of her hand. By doing so she apparently gives assistance to the soul being weighed and helps speed its way to salvation.

This version of the so-called *Psychostasis* or 'Weighing of Souls' makes its earliest appearance in Western art in the early fourteenth century. Of its many variants, the type showing the Virgin weighing down the scales with a rosary appears from surviving evidence to be unique to England. A cluster of about thirty examples of the Marian *Psychostasis* survive in this country in a variety of media but mostly in parochial wall-paintings.(2)

The image appears to show a judicial setting in which Mary interferes to the benefit of her devotees, a case

perhaps of merciful partiality embodied in the Virgin overthrowing the due process of divine judgement. Certainly this was a view taken by the sixteenth-century English reformer John Bale who, commenting on the process of divine judgement, says:

> "Just is he in his promise, true in his sayings, glorious in his works, holy, terrible and fearful in his judgements against the wicked. None shall be found able at that day to restrain the least part of his proposed vengeance, neither Mary throwing her beads into St Michael's balance..." (3)

Yet, on reflection, the image raises a number of questions and ambiguities in terms of its meaning, its origins, and its significance for contemporaries. Bale's rather pat interpretation might not be the whole story. For instance, what is improving the lot of the soul under judgement - Mary's advocacy or her provision of proof of enactment of good works such as saying the rosary? The setting of the scene, focussing as it does on the weighing in the scales, is reminiscent of courtroom drama. Does not the Virgin play the role of the counsel for the defence bringing on the evidence to aid her client rather than tampering with the legal process? Furthermore, what is this soul being condemned to? Eternal damnation? Time in purgatory? Bale assumes the former, but most of the images and narrative writings which survive would seem to suggest the latter.(4) What does the action of the Virgin's adversaries, the demons, represent? What is being weighed against what and is it better to be relatively light in the scales or relatively heavy?

As with the Virgin of Mercy, this image seems to have been rooted in an apt and ancient metaphor around which developed various narratives. As it emerged in the late Middle Ages it manifests the specific allusions which link it to narratives for its inspiration. At the same time it retains vague visual anomalies which connect it to the older literary world of metaphor. In the following pages the literary and visual origins of the *Psychostasis* with the Virgin intervening will be investigated, an analysis of the surviving English examples will be carried out, and an attempt will be made to assess the significance of this iconography for contemporaries.

I SOURCES IN BIBLICAL LITERATURE

Biblical literature offers three ways of deciding the fate of the human soul, one explicitly stated by Christ in the Gospels and others indirectly referred to in the Old Testament canon and apocrypha. Elements from all three appear in the later christian version of the *Psychostasis*.

In Matthew 25 Christ, referring to His Second Coming, describes how he shall divide the sheep from the goats - the blessed from the damned. The passage continues with an explanation of the criteria upon which this judgement will be made, showing that salvation awaits those who have acted charitably. This account seems therefore to show that those to be judged have some power in determining the outcome.

In the Book of Daniel (5:27) it is not divine

arbitration based on a set of pre-ordained criteria, but a yet more objective method which is hinted at in the metaphor of the weighing in the scales. Daniel interprets the writing on the wall of Belshazzar's palace as the judgement of God against the King:

Appensus es in statera, et inventus es minus habens.

Job uses the same image in his request to God that he should be judged fairly:

Appendat me in statera justa, et sciat Deus simplicitatem meam. (Job 31:6)

In a passage from the apocryphal book of Esdras (Bk 4, ch.3:34) the scales metaphor is further elaborated by a precise reference to what is placed in the scales of judgement:

Nunc ergo pondera in statera nostras iniquitates (5)

These Old Testament passages and their contexts raise pertinent issues for the future development of the iconographic motif. They describe final judgement, and are not warning parables like the Matthew passage which offers ways of avoiding damnation. The verses from Esdras describe how sins are weighed in the balance. The movement of the scales is referred to in Daniel and Job. The former suggests that to weigh light in the scales leads to damnation, and the latter hints at the alarming possibilty

that the scales may be tampered with, to the detriment of the one being judged. Job's request that the scales may be evenly balanced is a significant one given the future development of the christian version of the *Psychostasis* where the cheating wiles of the devil play such a prominent role.

The third biblical motif describing judgement appears in the Apocrypha and describes good and bad angels hovering about a deathbed waiting to fight over the soul of the deceased.(6) The written desription makes it clear that the righteous will always be carried off by good angels and the unrighteous by the bad.

When this method of judgement, however, appears in imagery the result can be more ambiguous. A mid-eleventh-century manuscript from Winchester gives an example set in a Last Judgement context (*Liber Vitae*. New Minster, Winchester. 1031. BL. Ms Stowe 944 fols 6v-7).(7) On this double page St Peter is depicted towards the top of the composition welcoming the blessed into the Heavenly Jerusalem, whilst below he appears again hitting a devil with his key whilst snatching a soul from his clutches.

A similar example dating from the late eleventh or twelfth century appears amongst the sculpted capitals of the narthex of St Benoit-sur-Loire near Orleans.(fig.41) The iconography of this sculptural scheme has been shown to be strongly apocalyptic in flavour with a number of scenes drawn from the Book of Revelation including St Michael fighting the dragon (Rev.12).(8) A capital on the north side of this group features an angel, presumably St

Michael, struggling with a devil over a tiny human soul which they hold between them.

This iconographic type represents a trial of strength in which the soul would appear to play no part in promoting his or her cause. The focus on the struggle between good and evil forces over the fate of a soul continues into late medieval art and literature.(9) At the same time the implication found in the Pauline Apocalypse that the righteousness of the person does have a bearing over whether good or bad angels ultimately win the soul becomes increasingly apparent too. The passions of saints and the fate of their adversaries provide many examples of this kind of division of angelic labour.(10)

A tendency towards ambiguity in relation to the link between good works and judgement also appears in the iconography of Matthew 25. A graphic representation of Christ separating the blessed from the damned may not refer to the acts of charity which, according to this passage, qualify souls for salvation.(11) The prefatory miniature of the Last Judgement from William de Brailes Psalter (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam museum, ms 330 iii) appears to show an arbitrary act of Judgement on the part of Christ. Unusually, however, this example includes a small reference to the efficacy of good works in the detail showing the artist admitted to heaven on the strength of having produced the manuscript in which the miniature appears.

The scales motif, on the other hand, does give pictorial scope for underlining the merciful contract with

its potential for showing what is weighed in the scales, how they move as a result, and how they may be tampered with by good or bad forces.(12) All three biblical motifs are interpreted iconographically, but the scales are particularly adept for representing individual judgement according to a visually expressed set of criteria. The marked increase in the circulation of this image in the twelfth century may partly be due to the emergence of an organised and theoretically impartial legal sytem at the time which found in this iconography a perfect expression of the divine court of judgement mirroring the earthly one.(13) In comparison with the Matthean account of judgement which uses agricultural imagery, the motif of the scales is based on mercantile practice which may also be significant in the increasing popularity of this iconography as the Middle Ages wore on.

In the biblical canon there existed therefore methods of judgement which included measuring, separating the good from the bad, and which raised the possibility of interference with the due process of judgement. Whilst no direct influence on the development of the christian image of the *Psychostasis* can be argued from these biblical sources, it is however important to note that such ideas existed in the christian mindset from an early date, and that all these aspects of biblical judgement were to play their part in moulding the iconography.

II VISUAL SOURCES OF THE PSYCHOSTASIS IN PRE-CHRISTIAN ART

If the *Psychostasis* only begins to appear in European visual arts in the Romanesque period, the life of this image had been developed continuously from Old Testament times and before in other parts of the world. The most ancient reference appears in Egyptian art depicting the fate of the dead. A typical example would show Osiris enthroned watching the soul being weighed against its deeds. A figure called Thoth writes down the judgement pronounced by Osiris or holds the balance himself.(14)

In art and literature this metaphor for judgement can be found in a number of major religions, though more directly important for its development in christian art is its appearance in Greek and Roman mythology.(15) In the Iliad the fates of Achilles and Hector are decided by the balance and, already in Greek culture, the scales came to be associated with justice - they were the attribute of Dice, Goddess of Justice and daughter of Zeus. Hermes often has the role of holding the balance as does his Roman counterpart, Mercury. St Michael stands in the same line and the link between his cult and that of Mercury has frequently been noted.(16)

III THE SCALES METAPHOR IN CHRISTIAN WRITING UNTIL c.1200

Amongst Early Christian writers the metaphor is employed in the late fourth and early fifth centuries by St Augustine who describes deeds being weighed in the scales

as a means of judging souls.(17) The metaphor was later exploited as an image of Christ's redemptionin Venantius Fortunatus' sixth-century hymn, *Vexilla Regis Prodeunt*, in which the cross is equated with scales and Christ's body hanging on it with a weight in the balance.(18) Venantius' contemporary, Gregory the Great, developed this idea in the *Moralia* on Job in which he identified the crucifix with the scales from which hang scale-pans containing on one side Christ's sufferings and, on the other, human sins.(19) Augustine, Venantius, and Gregory therefore give the image this further dimension in which divine mercy, embodied in the Passion, is weighed in the scales of divine justice, and balances human sin so enabling Redemption. Some artists later were to absorb this nuance into the iconography of the scales.

During this period the image also moved from a metaphorical device to an episode in narrative so giving it more dramatic consistency. Many of the narratives both in this early period and throughout the later Middle Ages relate the *Psychostasis* in the context of dreams or visions. The scene is therefore usually depicted in a short and vivid account, and so ideally suited for isolation from its original literary context and for depicting visually.

A hint of the Weighing of the Souls can be found early on in a short biography of St Anthony contained in the fifth-century *Historia Lausiaca* written by Palladius.(20) In this the ascetic saint is said to have had a vision in which he sees two souls, one just and one

wicked, which stand before a black giant. The former flies upward to become an angel whilst the latter is struck down by the giant into the sea.

A problematic feature of the *Psychostasis* generally is exemplified by this story and remains an anomaly, particularly through the history of its iconography. It is the action of the scales themselves. Because the region of the damned is traditionally below and that of the blessed above, it would be reasonable to suppose that the phrase which appears, for example, on the cover of Bishop Notker's eleventh-century evangeliary, *peccati pondere pressus*, would be literally transferred into the image and that sin would weigh heavily in the balance.(21) This is the case in Palladius' story, as it is in the weighing of Achilles and Hector in Homer.(22) At a much later date a reference to the scales in St Bridget's writings describes a woman suffering in purgatory who talks of how the scales *lifteth me up from peyn*.(23) On the other hand the writing on the wall at Belshazzar's feast, as we have seen, poses the opposite idea. The visual image of the late Middle Ages, presumably because of the whole logic behind the process of weighing, tends to show good weighing heavy against bad, it being a nonsense to depict it otherwise.(24)

A fully fledged version of the narrative occurs in the late tenth century in a passage from the Byzantine writer, Leo the Deacon's history of the Empire. He reports that the Emperor John Zimisces fully expected to have his deeds weighed in the balance and invoked the Virgin Mary

and St Nicholas on his deathbed to intervene on his behalf.(25) This episode introduces another aspect which recurs in the later medieval narrative and image - the implication that the intercession of Saints may be expressed by tampering with the scales to the benefit of the soul being judged.

A similar impression is gained from a miracle related by Cosmas of Prague in his early-twelfth-century chronicle in which a vision of the judgement of Emperor Henry II is described. The Emperor's deeds are placed in the scales and it appears that the bad are going to outweigh the good when Mary comes forward and scatters the group of anticipant devils by throwing a golden chalice against the wall and breaking it. The Emperor is then led to Paradise. There are other twelfth century accounts of this miracle which put St Lawrence in the Virgin's place.(26) James of Voragine's thirteenth-century retelling of it in the *Legenda Aurea* carefully shapes the story so that it does not simply celebrate the power of a saint's intercession, but also refers to the importance of good works and suggests a hierarchy in terms of their efficacy. In this St Lawrence throws the chalice into the scales and in an ensuing struggle with a devil one of the handles breaks off.(27) The broken handle enables the chalice to be identified by the hermit having the vision as one which the Emperor had donated to a church. So the chalice provides evidence of good works, but the story makes clear that other good works done by the Emperor were already placed in the scales but had not resulted in turning the

balance. This particular act of benefaction was crucial for his salvation, perhaps indicating that an act of devotion to the Eucharistic rite through the donation of a chalice was particularly efficacious. It has links with that aspect of Psychostasis literature which celebrates the redemptive effect of the death on the cross referred to above.

The scales as a metaphor for Redemption, as a means of showing the fruits of intercession and the efficacy of good works are all explored in early medieval literature and provide some of the context for the development of the late medieval *Psychostasis* image.

IV THE LATE MEDIEVAL NARRATIVE

Like Cosmas of Prague, James of Voragine also shows the Virgin interfering with the scales. Amongst the miracles associated with the feast of the Assumption in the *Legenda Aurea* is an account of the vision of a man in which he is brought to the divine court for judgement. Allegorical figures of Truth and Justice defend him from the claims of the devil, except when the latter argues that the man had done more bad deeds in his life than good. The two virtues then say that only the Virgin Mary, whom they address as Matrem Misericordiae, can help. She places her hand in the scales where the deeds are being weighed so tipping the balance. The man wakes and reforms his ways. (28) A similar late-thirteenth-century account results in the visionary joining the Cistercian order. In this example

the miracle appears amongst a group of three which exemplify the Virgin's mercy.(29)

The *Legenda Aurea* miracle exemplifies another aspect of the significance of the scales. They may be used as the focus of an episode which explores the nature of divine mercy. In both these accounts the Virgin as a representative of mercy is referred to explicitly. The stories take the reader through the stages of the troubled conscience, forgiveness for the bad deeds (graphically expressed in the later miracle by the Virgin removing the bad deeds from the scales), and the opportunity to reform.

A very full account of the judicial process involving scales is to be found in the fourteenth-century dream poem by the Cistercian, Guillaume de Déguileville, *Le Pèlerinage de l'âme*. The poem had a wide circulation in fourteenth and fifteenth-century Europe, and first appeared in an English prose version in the early fifteenth century where it came to be known either as *The Pilgrimage of the Soul* or *The Book of Grace Dieu*. The courtroom drama which is the main subject of Book 1 results in the narrator's soul being finally released from the threat of damnation by the last minute arrival of letters of mercy sent from Christ and the Virgin. The prolonged narrative involves lengthy debates between allegorical figures representing the daughters of God, the intervention of St Benedict in the French version, and an ugly fiend called Siserisis who speaks out against the soul whose misdeeds are written down by the devil. In Chapter 45 the pilgrim's *scrippe* and *bourdon* are laid in

the scales against Satan's bill and the weight of Siderisis herself. The evidence of going on pilgrimage is not sufficient to turn the scales and a later weighing is described when the letters of grace arrive, which goes in the pilgrim's favour

Despite the fact that all surviving manuscripts of the English version of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* are either illustrated or were at least prepared for illustration, there is no direct link between the book or its illustration and the late medieval detached images under consideration in this chapter. However, the popularity of the text cannot be dismissed when considering the background to the Marian Psychostasis. The complexities of the psychological drama of the book are not transferred into the images, but the setting of Book 1 and certain external details are common to both, notably St Michael's prominence as the judge in the narrative and as the holder of the scales in the images. It is significant too that the English version of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* is strikingly more Marian in content than the French with regard, for instance, to her influence on her Son's decisions.(30)

In the fifteenth century when the Marian *Psychostasis* was most widespread, the scales episode continued to feature in miracle literature mostly as a means of promoting particular devotions. The importance of regular attendance at Mass is emphasised in the story of Odon of Champagne who is saved because his pious attention to this devotion tips the balance.(31) The Dominican preacher,

Jean Hérolt, gives a visionary account of the *Psychostasis* in which a clerk who had said a hundred aves daily, saw the scales weigh against him. Significantly the Virgin persuades Christ to give one drop of his blood to put in the scale pan and, as a result, the soul is saved.(32) Clearly there appears to have been a need for an *exemplum* which stressed the importance of the Mass over any other devotion. Hérolt's rather visual means of expressing the teaching, by putting Christ's blood in the scales, had already by this date received a similar treatment in the visual arts.

Most pertinently for the English Marian *Psychostasis* were the *exempla* of the Dominican preacher of the rosary, Alain de la Roche. In a story about a usurer, Jacob, the protagonist, despite his other misdemeanours, is saved because of his devotion to the rosary which outweighs all his bad deeds:

Dixitque gloriosa Virgo Maria,quod maioris esset meriti suum psalterium, quam omnia sue mala. (33)

Given the pardons and indulgences associated with the saying of the rosary at the end of the Middle Ages, such *exempla* must have found a ready audience. A late medieval rhyme states:

And thou shalt have for one Psalter
Of pardon two thousand four hjundred years
Eleven score of days and fourteen (34)

However, Alain like others of his contemporaries was aware of the danger of seeming to advocate that empty devotions

were sufficient for entry into Paradise. He tells the story of a king who promoted the rosary by carrying it around with him, but never said it himself. In a vision, the Virgin tips the scales for him using the rosary. When he wakes he adopts the devotion in earnest.(35)

In summary the late medieval narrative takes the earlier metaphor and gives it a didactic angle, though with no radical change to the teaching which the scales episode contains in relation to the earlier use of the motif. The narrative mode is important in as much as such narratives provided the inspiration for the related iconography and the visionary context may be significant in the interpretaion of that iconography.

V THE ROMANESQUE *PSYCHOSTASIS* (36)

Another literary source for the *Psychostasis* are those writings concerned with the cult of St Michael himself. As well as establishing his role as weigher of souls, St Michael is hailed as the angel of peace, as a powerful intercessor, the slayer of the dragon in Revelation 12 and, by extension, the slayer of evil.(37) His role in the visual *Psychostasis* is almost universal, with many of the earliest surviving examples appearing in Byzantine apocalyptic imagery.(38) Typically the Last Judgement is shown with the Virgin appearing at the Judge's right as an intercessor and Michael appearing at the bottom of the composition weighing souls and fighting off interfering devils.(39)

From the late eleventh century the *Psychostasis* begins to appear in French monumental sculpture. An early example is depicted on a capital formerly in the abbey of La Daurade in Toulouse and, like most later romanesque *Psychostases*, it follows the same features to be found in the Byzantine equivalent. In other words Michael holds the scales which weigh down on his side despite the devils' machinations in trying to add extra weight to their side.(40)

As part of a full-scale Last Judgement, possibly the earliest surviving example is the tympanum at Autun where the overall composition is very similar to that of the Byzantine type.(fig.42) This includes the placing of the Virgin to the right of the Judge although not in this case adopting an intercessory posture.(41) Prominently displayed above the great west door of a cathedral, it must be assumed that the Autun tympanum was surveyed by the populace, literate and illiterate, and was not simply made for the edification of the theologically sophisticated such as the La Daurade capital in its Cluniac cloister. If the inscription on the tympanum was read, then the meaning of the iconography as a warning vision becomes manifest.(42) The image alone may appear to present a terrifying representation of arbitrary divine justice, but certain details qualify this reading so that the illiterate too could feel empowered and hopeful in face of the image.

An unusual feature at Autun is that Michael does not hold the scales, which seem to emerge from a cloud in the

sky. This detail distances the archangel from the judicial act. He is portrayed as a protector - diminutive souls cluster around him, rather than an aggressor against the demons on the opposite side of the scales.(43) It is notable that Michael rarely brandishes a sword in romanesque *Psychostases* which becomes an increasingly common feature in the gothic period. The depiction of Michael at Autun represents the protection and intercession of the saint, which is echoed in the figure of the Virgin who, although apparently passive here, was fixed in the contemporary mindset as a powerful intercessor with her Son.

Another aspect of the iconography which may have served to empower the onlooker is the treatment of the resurrected souls. The arrangement of the inscription along the top of the lintel indicates that those souls represented to the Judge's left will be damned, which is corroborated by the expressions and postures of the figures on this side of the lintel. Similarly the inscription above the souls on the other side suggests that they will be blessed. The images mirror the inscription showing that bad deeds will be damned, and avoidance of the same will result in entry to heaven. At the *Psychostasis* itself, the good soul weighs heavily in the scales on St Michael's side, but then appears to defy gravity and to catapult heavenwards. This uneasy marriage of the two conflicting ideas of the weight of goodness and the lofty location of heaven does not detract from the essentially positive though stern teaching of the

tympanum. Two of the didactic elements of the *Psychostasis* motif already seen in related literature are present in the example from Autun - the power of intercession and the efficacy of good works.(44)

The *Psychostasis* motif as a metaphor for teaching the Redemption which has been noted as a feature in literature also appears in twelfth-century art. A Byzantine style Last Judgement which appears in the Evangeliary of Wolfenbuttel dating from 1194 (Codex Guelferbytanus 65 Helmst, fol 13v) shows Michael pouring Christ's blood from a chalice into the scales. The same point is raised more tangentially when a reference is made to the Redemption in the larger scheme in which the *Psychostasis* is placed such as the appearance of the Instruments of the Passion in the composition on the west tympanum at Conques.(45) Similar references can be found in a small group of English Judgement scenes which feature the *Psychostasis*.

The survival of this motif in English art appears to be confined to wall-painting, although St Michael holding the scales apparently functioning as an identifying token does appear in Anglo-Saxon manuscript illumination.(46) All make some reference towards the Redemption either through displaying the instruments of the Passion, as at Stowell and Clayton, or, in the case of Chaldon, by showing the Harrowing of Hell. Although the *Psychostasis* itself in these examples is fairly consonant with French romanesque examples, the context is very varied.

The Chaldon painting is of particular interest since it appears to introduce a new dimension into the

significance of the *Psychostasis* image. E.W. Tristram described the scene as a 'purgatorial ladder'.(fig.43)(47) It appears on the west wall of the nave, a conventional position for judgement imagery, and dates from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. The composition, which is divided into four horizontal panels, shows the torments of hell in the bottom register with the Tree of Knowledge with the serpent in its branches on the right. Above appears the *Psychostasis* on the left and the Harrowing of Hell on the right. Linking the two in the middle is a ladder which rises up into a cloud out of which Christ appears, blessing.

Tristram's suggestion that Chaldon is a visual expression of the doctrine of Purgatory would place the scales as a judicial instrument which decided on purgatorial rather than final fate. It is perhaps an unusually early reference to this doctrine, especially in a parochial setting, but although the teaching was not to be formulated until the second half of the thirteenth century, it had been a conscious issue in the church from a much earlier date.(48) The universal consignment to hell after death as a result of original sin and the redemption from that fate might be inferred from the right hand side of the composition. A system of justice according to moral conduct is implied by the *Psychostasis* and the presence in purgatory or hell of obvious personifications of sin, such as avarice and lechery. The ladder indicates that the judgement of the scales is not final. Figures move about on it, some join half way up, some appear to be hopelessly

condemned to the bottom. Clearly certain visual models would have come into play in the formation of this image. The iconography of the Psychostasis with the devil interfering with the scales was well established as was Christ harrowing hell and trampling Satan in bonds underfoot.(49)

Literary sources for these ideas were also in existence, strikingly perhaps in the writings of the influential though shadowy figure of Honorius of Autun (d1136).(50) In his surviving published work Honorius colourfully describes hell and those who are doomed to it, he has views on purgatory and how prayers on the part of those living and the blessed in heaven might aid souls languishing there, he discusses the effect of Christ's harrowing of hell and he uses the popular image of the ladder at least three times.(51) Although not explicitly employing the metaphor of the weighing in the scales, he discusses the issue of divine justice in a number of different passages.(52)

Whilst positing no direct link between Honorius' writing and the Chaldon Doom, by considering the two together it can be shown that Purgatory was being imagined by contemporaries working in words and pictures in a remarkably similar way. Chaldon can be seen consequently as representing a typical rather than a unique contemporary view of judgement. In view of the future development of the Marian *Psychostasis* which continues the emphasis on good works and their direct effect on the reduction of time in purgatory, it is important to show

how the weighing of souls as a visual motif could be considered in a purgatorial context before the Marian variation emerged.

An *exemplum* at the end of a sermon by Honorius presents a vision of suffering in purgatory experienced by a certain Plotinus.(53) The horrific image has the effect of encouraging him to amend during his earthly life, but the story also shows that there is an alternative, which is purging after death as a result of the good works and intercession of others. The vision serves much the same purpose as Gislebertus' vision in stone, but the purgatorial codicil points more to the Chaldon painting and the future development of some aspects of the *Psychostasis* iconography

VI THE LATE MEDIEVAL *PSYCHOSTASIS*.

In French sculpture the *Psychostasis* continues to feature in Last Judgement iconography in the gothic period. An adjustment in scale which tends to make Michael tower above his adversary is noticeable in most surviving examples, giving the image a greater impression that good forces are in control.(54) The overall formula becomes standardised too and underlines the symbolic function of the motif as part of the scheme of death, judgement and reward by placing St Michael on the same vertical axis as the judge and between the blessed and the damned receiving their just desserts.

In terms of the themes explored so far, there

survive, in monumental art, from this period specific references to the Redemption in the *Psychostasis* itself and not just in the larger scheme of the Last Judgement. Earlier examples have tended to appear in the more rarefied world of manuscript illumination, but both the Bourges and Amiens examples include a direct reference. At Bourges a chalice appears in the scales, and at Amiens there is an Agnus Dei. Here too the theme is developed still further by placing a small figure of *Ecclesia* next to the scale pan which contains the lamb, and a collapsing figure of *Synagoga* next to the demon in the other pan.(fig.44)(55) The passing of the old order and the coming of the new is thus graphically expressed.(56)

The encouragement of good works, particularly those which were associated with alleviating the sufferings of souls in purgatory, now become a more widespread feature. The appearance of aves and candles in the scales are connected, in terms of their specific connection with offices for the dead, with the rosary motif in the Marian *Psychostasis*.(57) The power of intercession may be suggested by the appearance of a hand in the scales, usually assumed to be the Virgin Mary's, or the placing of some saintly token. A fourteenth-century Sienese altarpiece shows St Peter throwing a fish into the scales held by St Michael. Interestingly, he throws the fish in the scale pan opposite the soul which appears to be a rare example of a good soul weighing light in the scales.(58)

From the fourteenth century the context of the *Psychostasis* with St Michael becomes more flexible, with

the image increasingly appearing in isolation or in contexts other than the Last Judgement. The potential for adapting the significance of the *Psychostasis* could thus be further exploited by new contexts and new juxtapositions. At St Cenerei-le-Gerei in south Normandy a fourteenth-century representation of the Virgin of Mercy appears on the north east part of the nave wall. Opposite, on the south wall, is a *Psychostasis* in which a soul is being rescued from the scales into the arms of a saint, possibly Peter. The apsidal vault and east wall are painted with a Majesty and a Coronation of the Virgin and include the figure of a praying cleric. It may be supposed that the cleric can be identified with the donor of this set of contemporary wall-paintings. The presence of the Virgin in heaven enhances her powers of intercession which are expressed in the Virgin of Mercy image and which in turn help to swing the balance in the cleric's favour. He is led away by St Peter and appears on the east wall, praying, perhaps on behalf of others trapped in purgatory, and so perpetuating the cycle of intercession. Such a reading may be considered arbitrary, but given the accumulated significance of the *Psychostasis* by the fourteenth century, taken in conjunction with that of the Coronation of the Virgin and the Virgin of Mercy discussed in earlier chapters, it is a likely one.(59)

In the Byward tower in the Tower of London, a late-fourteenth-century scheme of paintings includes the *Psychostasis*. The room, which is thought never to have been a chapel, is decorated at one end with a conventional

crucifixion group flanked on one side by John the Baptist and on the other by the *Psychostasis*.

This grouping is an unusual one, and may indicate another development which was emerging as a result of the isolation of the *Psychostasis* from a larger context, which is the weighing of souls, and not simply the scales themselves, becoming an identifying attribute of St Michael.(60) The secular context is interesting though, as will be shown, not unique in terms of the corpus of *Psychostasis* images which survive.

VII THE MARIAN *PSYCHOSTASIS*

The forgoing discussion has established that, by the fourteenth century, when the Marian *Psychostasis* first appears, the scene of the 'weighing in the scales' had been exploited in art and literature to demonstrate the power of saintly intercession, the efficacy of good works, and the effect for human salvation of the Redemption. In western art it has developed chiefly in the context of Last Judgement imagery, but becoming increasingly detached from that context from the fourteenth century. Both visually and in narratives, such as *exempla* and miracle accounts, the visionary nature, and therefore warning purpose of the scene is marked. The scene has appeared in a purgatorial context. With the increasing popular consciousness of this concept from the thirteenth century, and the isolation of the image from Last Judgement scenes, it may be supposed that the scene acted not only as a

warning vision for the living but also as a means of encouraging devotional acts on behalf of the dead.(61)

Although the Marian *Psychostasis* appears elsewhere in Europe, surviving English examples provide an ample variety of versions of the image including the, uniquely English, Virgin placing the rosary in the scales, and will be the main focus of what follows.(62) Because so many survive in wall-paintings, the study of this iconography is problematic since a number of examples are badly damaged or cannot be guaranteed to survive in their original or at least in one of their original medieval states. Even if overall schemes remain relatively unchanged, details are vulnerable to alteration. A rosary, for instance, can easily be painted in or painted out or transformed into something else. What is lost, but would have made a fascinating study, is the reinterpretation of the same theme painted on a particular wall through the medieval centuries. A tantalising glimpse of the possibilities of such a study can still be gleaned at Beckley in Oxfordshire where, in the Lady Chapel, it appears that a fifteenth-century *Psychostasis* has been painted over a thirteenth-century one.(63)

Despite these caveats enough survives to give a broad view of where and how this image was used. What follows is an assessment of these and a consideration of their role in late medieval piety.

VIII THE LOCATION OF THE MARIAN *PSYCHOSTASIS*

The image usually appears inside a church, but examples survive depicted on the outside of a church tower, on a tomb, in a hospital, on a secular house, and in an English book of hours. A fifteenth-century 'bargeboard' at Weobley in Herefordshire which once stood above the doorway of a house in the town shows the Virgin and *Psychostasis* flanked by two shields with masons marks.(fig.45) In this secular context, and given too the spareness of the iconography, the image would appear to be a badge probably associated with a guild or confraternity which links it to the masons marks with which it appears. Less likely but possible, since it formerly appeared above an entrance, is that it had some apotropaic function, comparable with the sighting of an image of St Christopher on a daily basis to ward off bad fortune.(64) The wall-painting in St Wulfstan's hospital now known as the Commandery in Worcester, gives a contrasting context. Here the early-sixteenth-century image forms part of a group which adorns the walls of a room which, it has been suggested, was reserved for the very sick.(fig.46)(65) The paintings may then have been the subject for deep contemplation, and form a provincial parallel with the great tradition of northern renaissance paintings commissioned for hospitals, such as Grunewald's Issenheim altarpiece and Van der Weyden's Beaune altarpiece.(66) At Worcester the image appears above a crucifixion and surrounded by Saints, notably Erasmus and Roch both invoked for the healing of

disease. Above the Virgin is the inscription: *(Sanc)ta Maria Ora Pro Nobis*, stressing the intercessory function of the image. On the ceiling, possibly a final contemplative image for the dying, a majesty and the arma Christi and the inscriptions *Jesu Mercy* and *Lady Helpe*.

By opening the analysis with a discussion of two contrasting contexts in which the image can be found, its ubiquity and breadth of application can be established. Its appearance at St Wulfstan's particularly underscores the close connection of the image with judgement, particularly individual judgement and sentence to purgatory.

IX HOW THE VIRGIN WEIGHS DOWN THE SCALES

Both the above examples feature the detail of the rosary, as the majority of English examples do. The employment of the recital of the Marian psalter in funeral rites, and the claimed efficacy of the rosary in relieving the suffering of one's own soul or those of others were already features of fourteenth-century English piety.(67) The motif of the rosary in the Marian *Psychostasis* only appears in literature in the fifteenth century - in *exempla* and other devotional writings which promote the practice.(68) It is remarkable however that, in England, the image appears to predate this literature. The rosary appears in the first generation of these *Psychostases*, at St Mary's, Lenham, in Kent for example, where the Virgin extends her rosary towards the scale-beam. In some cases,

such as the later painting at Broughton, the rosary is already curled serpent-like around the scale-beam.

Although not common, other evidence of good works might appear with or even instead of the rosary. Three examples, at Slapton in Northamptonshire, Swalcliffe in Oxfordshire (fig.47) and Barton in Cambridgeshire (fig.48) form a remarkably consistent group in this respect. All date from the second half of the fourteenth century, those at Swalcliffe and Barton being comparable stylistically, showing similar attenuated figures and the same shape to St Michael's wings. All three are depicted on the south wall of the nave. They all include the rosary motif though the one at Swalcliffe is no longer visible , and show the Virgin holding what looks like a small book in her other hand.(69) I would suggest that the book represents either the Marian psalter in its original written version or a primer. It has been shown that the former devotion developed as a long Marian series of prayers based on the Psalms, and that saying the rosary beads was a simplified version of this based on repetitive prayers and therefore requiring no written text. Various factors such as the appearance of rosary beads on funeral monuments would argue for the popularisation of the latter in the fourteenth century, so that the two practices may have been seen as alternatives. There appears also to have been an awareness of the need for parallel devotions for the lettered and unlettered.(70) Similarly the saying of the *Placebo* and the *Dirige* for the salvation of souls as prescribed in gild instructions for the funeral ceremonies

of deceased members shows the importance of these prayers in this context. The standard inclusion of the office of the dead in the medieval book of hours or primer suggests that such prayers were used privately as well as in public rites.(71) All such devotions, as Lydgate was to affirm nearly a century later, were good to bring souls in purgatory *out of peyne*:

.....And lettryd folk loweer of degre
With De Profundis, placebo and dirige
Our ladys sauhter, seid with devocyoun,
In chirche yerdis of what estat they be,
Whan for sowlys they go processioun. (72)

All Saints at Nassington in Northamptonshire offers another variation on this theme, which again belongs chronologically to the earlier group of these images. Dating from about the end of the fourteenth century, this *Psychostasis* shows the Virgin laying her hand on the scale beam upon which is also hung a rosary and what appears to be a type of satchel.(fig.49) A cleric kneels between St Michael and the Virgin praying to the latter. Here the good work referred to would appear to be pilgrimage, and the scrip or satchel, part of the regalia of the medieval pilgrim, is added to the scales along with other evidence of the cleric's devotion. The detail is reminiscent of the text of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* where the pilgrim similarly puts his scrip and bourdon in the scales to weigh against his bad deeds placed on the other side. Given the narrative of this text in which the evidence of being a pilgrim is not sufficient to tip the balance, the presence of the Virgin may have added an extra nuance for

contemporaries. In the story Mary brings letters of grace to add to the scales. Possibly here the addition of the rosary may be seen to have had the same effect.

A very badly damaged painting of the late fifteenth century at St Martin's in Ruislip shows a *Psychostasis* painted on to the face of a rood loft staircase. It appears that the Virgin is throwing coins into the scales. If so, almsgiving would be a likely interpretation. Alternatively an explanation might be found in the practice of bending gold coins as a sign of intention to go on pilgrimage, in this case presumably to a Marian shrine.(73) However, given the condition of the Ruislip painting and consequent uncertainty concerning its details, futher speculation on its significance cannot be fruitful.

X THE JUXTAPOSITION OF THE MARIAN *PSYCHOSTASIS* WITH OTHER IMAGES

Nassington introduces another factor in the consideration of the function of this motif by raising the issue of its juxtaposition with other images. Mary here is pointing towards a wheel painted above. The wheel is a versatile motif as used in late medieval art, the Wheel of Fortune being the most common. Not far from Nassington at Longthorpe Tower, a wheel of the five senses appears in a scheme of fourteenth-century wall-paintings.(74) It has been suggested that this wheel however represents the Works of Mercy and, if so, would amplify the good works

already shown on the scales below.(75) Yet there is a human figure which supports the wheel which would rather suggest its identity with a wheel of fortune, and the good works of mercy, after all, would have been more effective in the scales. Further, the fact that the wheel is a separate image which the Virgin indicates with a gesture, which might serve to remind or even warn the cleric, would corroborate the employment of a *memento mori* motif in this position. Nor, if this is the case, is Nassington unique in this coming together of the incitement to good works and the reminder of mortality. A comparable example would be the late-fourteenth-century painting at Pickworth in Lincolnshire where the *Psychostasis* appears directly below the Three Living and the Three Dead. A now undecipherable painting next to the Weighing of the Souls has been interpreted as a painting of the Seven Sins which would work in with the high moral tone of the scheme as a whole.(76) The Three Living and the Three Dead also appeared next to the *Psychostasis* at Bovey Tracey.(fig.50) A wheel representing the Seven Ages is near but not directly next to the same image in the fifteenth-century scheme at Kempley in Herefordshire.(77) In a hospital context, like Worcester, the *memento mori* might have been deemed redundant.

XI THE PRESENCE OF AN INDIVIDUAL DONOR

Another aspect of the Marian *Psychostasis* is the occasional presence of a praying individual presumably

associated with the original commissioning of the image. Nassington again provides the example. Such images seem to have been designed around the hopes of a particular individual in that the composition is centred on a donor, and they particularly raise the issue of why this image was chosen and for whose benefit. As well as at Nassington, individual donor figures can be still clearly be made out at Corby Glen in Lincolnshire and Barton in Cambridgeshire.(78) The former includes a partially decipherable inscription which reads *'Of your charity pray for the soul....'*. The tonsured donor kneels praying to the Virgin who is here portrayed as a Virgin of Mercy.(figs.51 & 52)

The inscription is conventional and the presence of a donor in a religious picture is a commonplace in medieval and renaissance art. It can be assumed that the wall-painting is partially designed to perpetuate the memory of someone after their death, but it is more than simply a commemorative painting. The Corby inscription incites observers to action - to pray for the soul in purgatory. The painting provides a constant reminder in the church, as opposed to the occasional reminder occurring in the *obit* or some other liturgical or devotional means of linking the world of the dead with that of the living.

What is the observer seeing? Frequently in medieval art donors are not dramatically integrated with the religious narrative with which they appear. The composition, or handling of scale, or the isolation of the donor beyond the frame of the image keep the world of the

religious image and that of the portrait of the donor separate.(79) In these examples, on the other hand, the praying figure is part of the ongoing drama. At Corby, for instance, the donor is painted more or less on a scale with the souls under the robe. The onlooker is seeing a moment, caught from the drama of judgement after individual death. Like the pilgrim in *The Pilgrimage of the Soul*, the cleric here has been brought to court, and his judgement is being decided. Saintly intercession is witnessed in the presence of the Virgin. The efficacy of pious devotions is promoted by the effect of the rosary on the scales.The cleric, fully clothed, still on the threshold between life and death addresses the observer in the inscription and arguably also addresses the souls sheltering under Mary's cloak. They are naked souls, mostly tonsured themselves and presumably represent the blessed who are also invited to pray on the donor's behalf. A passage in Bridget of Sweden gives a literary equivalent when a soul coming for judgement is prayed for by those under Mary's mantle. The passage continues with a description of hell, limbo and purgatory and, interestingly with regard to the Corby image, what rewards await those who pray for souls in purgatory.(80) In sum, the image works for the donor for the reasons cited, it works for the onlooker as a reminder of things to come and as a spur to action. It links, particularly through the inscription, the living world, the liminal world and the world of the dead.

The Virgin, in this composition, is part of the

drama, as she is in the narratives to be found in the *Legenda Aurea* and the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* which must have played their part in inspiring the iconography. On a more abstract level she represents those elements of the picture which work towards the relief of the donor's soul namely the evidence of good works and as the rallying point for the prayers in heaven for the dead. Mary's appearance in the *Psychostasis* image affects the role of Michael. In these Marian examples the angel always holds the scales, and frequently brandishes a sword. He is not visually placed in opposition to the demons which is a position assigned to the Virgin. It is she now who acts as their chief adversary, and who spearheads the case for the defence in the courtroom in which St Michael and his scales stand as the ancient symbol of justice.

XII THE MARIAN *PSYCHOSTASIS* AS PART OF THE LAST JUDGEMENT

The examples cited with individual donors place the *Psychostasis* at the point of individual judgement rather than Last Judgement. In other cases location in time is not so clear, in those for instance which seem principally to be simply *memento mori* images. There are a few however which, by their context, do explicitly apply to the general judgement at the end of time.(81) St Lawrence in Broughton, Buckinghamshire, shows the *Psychostasis* at the bottom of a composition which includes an enthroned Majesty, angels blowing the last trump, and bodies resurrected from their tombs.(fig.53) Although the scene

shows a general resurrection, the weighing, and the presence of a single rosary suggests the fate of an individual. At Broughton a particularly prominent figure is shown rising up from a coffin directly behind the scales who might represent the person in question. The rosary as a representation of good works on the scales would seem consonant with the final judgement, but the presence of the Virgin who here also lays her hand on the scale beam may seem to indicate real interference in the judicial process.

There is some evidence that contemporaries viewed the placing of a Marian *Psychostasis* in a Last Judgement image with unease. Caiger-Smith refers to the church at Penn in Buckinghamshire where it was included in a fifteenth-century Doom and erased again only a few years later. (82). In a Doom context an alternative would be to exclude Mary from the scene altogether, but to leave in references to good works. This occurs on a fragment of fifteenth-century glass, possibly from a former Last Judgement window once in Chester Cathedral which shows a soul in a scale pan and a rosary looped around the beam above. Another example, though not in an explicit Doom context, is the alabaster carving of St Michael on the side of a tomb at Harewood, Yorkshire, where a rosary hangs over the beam of the scales.

Apocalyptic references would also suggest a Last Judgement context. These occur, for instance, in a fine alabaster carving in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig.54) and in the now destroyed wall-painting from Bovey

Tracey in Devon. The alabaster which features the Virgin, rosary in hand, stepping forward as if about to place it on the scale, shows Michael standing above the dragon with which he fights in Revelation 12 and from whom he rescues the woman with child equated in late medieval thought with the Virgin. St Michael fighting with a dragon was the conventional way of showing the Saint but a strong apocalyptic flavour is given here by the fact that the dragon is many-headed. The same feature appeared at Bovey Tracey.

To what extent these niceties affected the impression made on the observer are open to question. However, by the late middle ages, in spite of certain anomalies, the world after death was purported to operate in a system based on time and space zones which made sense to the living exemplified by the enthusiastic emphasis on length of time in purgatory to be found in contemporary texts. It would not therefore be surprising to find that these images were intended to present a particular point in this system which begins with individual judgement and ends with general judgement.(83) The Broughton Doom may, as indicated, primarily have been intended as an individual judgement, though set in a rather unusual context. It may, on the other hand, represent a Last Judgement, for the Virgin's presence as an intercessor in this context was commonplace in gothic imagery, and putting her hand on the scales seems to have been an action which represents her in that intercessory role. The rosary appears as evidence of pious devotions which elicit divine mercy on the Last

Day, and belongs to a family of such images which have their place in gothic Doom imagery. This was, however, just the type of image which so upset the likes of John Bale.

XIII THE REPRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN

Another aspect of the iconography is concerned with the status required for the Virgin to enable her to fulfil this role. She has to be powerful to counter the demons and tenacious in defence of her protegees. In the Marian *Psychostasis* this is conveyed, almost without exception, by depicting Mary crowned. The queenly regalia which in Marian iconography derives from the Coronation of the Virgin had, by the late Middle ages, taken on further nuances. The popular fourteenth-century *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* had given rise to the notion of Mary as the Queen of Mercy.(84) In Caxton's late-fifteenth century English version of the *Legenda Aurea*, the Virgin, who is enthroned with the Judge, is described as the Lady of Mercy rather than the Mother of Mercy of the original Latin version. In the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, grants of mercy are sent from Christ and the Virgin to enable the pilgrim to escape damnation, giving the impression of an equal partnership between the two.(85) Except where an image is closely illustrating a miracle account, a crown is usually the visual means by which her regal status is conveyed.(86)

This impression of her power is however occasionally

qualified. Literature gives examples for instance of Mary debating with Christ over the fate of a soul and ultimately failing to sway the judge.(87) Invocations to the Virgin to help at the weighing sometimes extend to Michael too. A fifteenth-century Welsh poem asks: "May Michael and Mary, for fear of the icy cauldron, be successful against him". The same poem raises the possibility too that the soul itself may engage in the struggle on its own behalf against the devil: "When I go to Michael, I shall tug Satan's fork, and by my soul I shall wish him ill luck in the scales!."(88)

At St Peter's at Barton in Cambridgeshire a champion appears to help the Virgin in her struggle in the form of St George.(fig.55) The knight stabs at a devil sitting on the scale beam to St Michael's right while the Virgin places the rosary on the beam opposite. The iconography has both chivalrous and nationalist overtones. A miracle related in the *Legenda Aurea* tells how Mary resurrected the martyr, Mercurius, and sent him to slay Julian the Apostate. In English art, from the thirteenth century, St George begins to replace Mercurius in illustrations of this legend so indicating the increasing popularity of St George's cult during this period, and suggesting the partnership between him and the Virgin.(89) The fourteenth century saw George instated as England's patron Saint and the Virgin's close links with the country enshrined in references to England as 'Our Lady's dower.'(90) A partnership of lady and champion devoted to the cause of the English in this world and the next might then seem an

inevitable outcome of these developments.

A lyric in the Old Hall manuscript addressed to St George and the Virgin and roughly contemporary with the Barton wall-painting records the fruits of this partnership in words.(91) St George is asked to invoke the Virgin's grace so that England might be protected from its enemies. The wall-painting shows the same partnership working in a similar way. St George protects the soul from its enemies and the Virgin shows her merciful goodwill by placing the rosary on the scales so rescuing the soul from damnation. George picks off the enemy one by one to enable the rosary to win the day.

XIV THE CONTENTS OF THE SCALES

Before summing up the various nuances of meaning that the Marian *Psychostasis* appears to convey and the questions it gives rise to, one further detail of the iconography requires some investigation - the contents of the scales themselves. On the whole the literary equivalents of this scene describe good and bad deeds being weighed against each other in the balance and the soul being judged looking on. Where the detail is visible and, assuming it still appears in its original state, the usual pattern for the visual image in the later middle ages is that a small naked soul in prayer is in one scale-pan and demons cluster on and around the other. At Wellingham in Norfolk two souls appear together on one side of the scales and, at Bartlow in Cambridgeshire, according to a drawing by

Tristram, there is a soul in each pan, but with the demons also appearing on one side.(fig.56)(92) The most obvious explanation for this iconography would be that the soul represents the good deeds and the devil in the scale pan the bad. Yet it is a very marked deviation from the narrative sources, although perhaps dictated by the need for visual clarity.

The Marian *Psychostasis* appears to be an image which demonstrates Marian intercession and promotes, where the motif appears, the rosary devotion. These may be seen as essential in paving a soul's way to salvation. These English examples make no explicit references to the Redemptive element which has been noted in other examples in this chapter, but a contemporary example in Denmark does, which perhaps might suggest that such a reading may have been inferred from the English group. A painting on a quadripartite bay of the vault at Fanefjord shows the Virgin carrying Christ and putting her hand in the scales.(fig.57) Directly opposite the image in the same bay is the Sacrifice of Isaac. The angel raises his hand to stop Abraham in the same way as Mary raises her hand to interfere with the scales. The presence of Christ is quite unknown in English examples, but takes up the point made more than once in this thesis that the Virgin and Child or simply the Virgin signified the mercy of God in late medieval iconography. As divine mercy qualifies divine justice in the story of Isaac, so it does in the interference with the scales. Significantly, the traditional New Testament counterpart in iconography for

the Sacrifice of Isaac is the Crucifixion, another image which expresses the mercy of God.(93)

It might also be suggested that, just as the demons add extra weight to the scales by hanging from the beams and pushing and pulling the scale pan from above and below, as Siderisis does in the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, so the Virgin's actions are simply put in to redress this cheating. In this post-Freudian age it is hard to imagine evil as an entirely external force, but the case was quite the opposite in the Middle Ages when fear of the 'fiend' was rife and bad deeds attributed to his influence. The Virgin's influence at the *Psychostasis* may then be seen as promoting the cause of true justice by neutralising these devilish machinations. This corrective reading of the image appears to underly this Marian invocation in a prayer to the Virgin in a late medieval psalter:

Nos conforta et reporta munus indulgentie
Ut reformes nos enormes ad statum iustitie.(94)

It also focuses attention on a new relationship - that between the Virgin and the devil, which is the subject of the next chapter.

APPENDIX 2

THE MARIAN *PSYCHOSTASIS* IN ENGLAND

1. A list and bibliography of the surviving English examples of Mary throwing a rosary into St Michael's scales appears in Andrew Breeze, 'The Virgin's Rosary and St Michael's Scales in medieval Welsh Poetry and English art', *Studia Celtica*, 24 (1991), 91-8. In compiling the following list, I am grateful to David Park of the Courtauld Institute for access to the Tristram archive and other papers held by the National Survey of Medieval Wall-Painting.

The following examples of the Marian *Psychostasis* with the rosary motif do not appear in Breeze's list:

Barton, Cambs., St Peter. Wall-painting on the south wall of the nave. Date: late fourteenth century. Comparable in style with Swalcliffe, Oxon, in terms of the depiction of St Michael's wings, and the attenuated figures. In both examples the Virgin holds a book. See watercolour copy by E.W. Tristam, London, VAM; E.3370-1931

Kempley, Herefords., St Mary.(fig.58) Wall-painting in tempera in the splay of a window on the north side of the nave. Date: fifteenth century. The Virgin seems to have a rosary hanging over her wrist. The image appears opposite a painting of St Anthony and near a wheel composition possibly representing the Seven Ages of Man.

Weobley, Herefords. Carved bargeboard formerly above the doorway of Millington Hall, Broad St which is now demolished. Date: late fifteenth century. See letter, 'The Weighing of Souls', *Country Life*, 1 December 1966. I am grateful to Francis Cheetham for bringing the Weobley bargeboard to my notice.

The following examples of the English Marian *Psychostasis* do not appear now to feature the rosary motif:

Bartlow, Cambs., St Mary. Wall-painting on the south side of the nave. Date: early sixteenth century. Comparable in style with examples at Fingringhoe, Essex, and Wellingham, Norfolk. In all three examples the Virgin has long hair, loose over her shoulders, and wears an ermine tippet. The date, 1532, appears on the Wellingham rood-screen on which the image appears. See *The Victoria History of the Counties of England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1978) Vol VI, A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely, ed., A.P.M. Wright, p.35; E.E. Phillips & J.J. Rickett, *A History of St Mary's Church, Bartlow, Cambs.*, (1933). Watercolour copy by E.W. Tristram, VAM, E.492-1930.

Fingringhoe, Essex, St Ouen. Wall-painting on the south side of a pier of the south nave arcade. Date: early sixteenth century. See Rev G.M. Benton,'The Church of St Ouen, Fingringhoe', *JBAA*, 3rd series II(1937) 155-191 ; Mr Forster, 'Distemper paintings in Fingringhoe Church', *Essex Archaeological Society*, n.s. 3 (1885-9) 118-120.

Little Hampden, Bucks. Parish church. See Appendix 1

Pickworth, Lincs., St Andrews.(fig.59) Date: late fourteenth century. Wall-painting on the north wall of the nave directly above the arcade. See C. Rouse, Wall-Painting in St Andrew's Church, Pickworth, *JBAA*, 3rd ser., 13 (1950) 24-33; E.W. Tristram, *English Wall Painting of the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1955) pp 235-236

Ruislip, Middlesex, St Martin's. Wall-painting in the Lady chapel in the north aisle. The image is on the south-east corner on the face of the rood-loft staircase. Date: late fifteenth century. Below is a depiction of St Lawrence.

The following represent examples of the Marian *Psychostasis* or a closely related image, not listed by Breeze, which are either now destroyed or so fragmentary as to be difficult to decipher.

Bisley, Glos., All Saints. (fig.60) Watercolour painting of the Marian *Psychostasis* with the rosary motif, presumed to be a copy of a wall-painting on the north wall uncovered in 1771 and lost in the 1872 restoration of the church. I am grateful to Dr J. Mattingley for bringing this painting to my notice. Date. Fifteenth century.

East Wickham, Kent, St Michael. Perry refers to an example at Bexley in Kent which may be identified with a wall-painting at the nearby church in East Wickham where a large St Michael is still visible on the north wall. See M. Phillips Perry, 'On the Psychostasis in Christian Art', *Burlington Magazine*, 22, (1912-13) 94-105 & 208-230 (p.215, n.18).

Linkinhorne, Cornwall, St Melor. Wall-painting to the east of the S. door. Date: fifteenth century. This damaged wall-painting appears to feature a representation of hell or purgatory in which a male figure stands holding a rosary. It may have been part of a weighing of the souls composition, and the rosary may indicate the efficacy of this devotion for reducing time spent in purgatory. There is no evidence that the Virgin appeared in the composition. See E.S. Lindley, 'Church Murals at Linkinhorne', *Journal of the Royal Institute of Cornwall*, n.s. 2 (1954) part 2, 112-115. It may, on the other hand, be interpreted in the light of a late medieval misericord from Gayton in Northamptonshire which features a feathered devil with cloven hooves trampling down a man and a woman, both holding rosaries. Could these iconographic schemes relate to those exempla referred to in chapter five which cautioned against empty devotions? This group of misericords also includes a Virgin of Mercy.

Preston, Sussex, St Peter. Wall-painting of the Marian *Psychostasis* on east wall of the nave, south of the chancel arch, very badly damaged in the early twentieth century. Date: fourteenth century. Comparable in style to Catherington. See C. Townshend, 'An account of a fresco painting discovered at Preston, in Sussex', *Archaeologia* 23 (1831) 309-16. Perry identifies the female figure as St Margaret who is depicted in a painted niche above the *Psychostasis*. See Perry (1912-13) 215. Townshend's drawing represents the figure without a crown.

which is untypical in the Marian *Psychostasis*, and there is evidence in miracle literature of saints other than the Virgin interfering with the *Psychostasis*, although apparently not Margaret of Antioch. See also L.E. Williams, 'Old frescoes in Preston Church, Brighton', *Antiquary* 15 (1904) 340-345; J. Edwards, 'English Medieval Wall-Paintings: some nineteenth century hazards', *Archaeological Journal* 146 (1989) 470-475

ICONOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

The iconographic analysis attached traces the development of the Marian Psychostasis from the mid fourteenth century to the early sixteenth century in England and may be useful in indicating regional or chronological trends. It can, however, only present a very fragmented picture owing to the fragility of the medium it represents. In particular the following points must be considered, which qualify the results on the table:

- the painting at South Leigh has been exposed as a complete Victorian over-painting of 1872. Correspondence surviving from the 1870s, howevere, does establish that the rosary motif appeared in the original fifteenth-century design. See J. Edwards, 'A "fifteenth-century" wall-painting at South Leigh', *Oxoniensa*, 48 (1983) 131-142.

- although this attempts to be a comprehensive list only two examples of English alabasters have been given. Some further examples appear in Appendix 1, but there is at present no exhaustive list of surviving English alabaster panels. These are spread throughout Europe, a witness to the active export market enjoyed by this industry. With the exception of VAM A209 - 1846, the examples which I have seen all correpond generally to the same iconographic type represented by the example from the Musee du Louvre in Paris.

- four examples are drawings of destroyed wall-paintings and so are dependent on the accuracy of the artist's eye. In the cases of Bisley and Islip, my sources do not indicate the original context.

- when different generations of wall-painting exist side-by-side, a situation which is evident, for instance, at Corby and Beckley, then the question of the intended context of the painting may be difficult to establish.

The following symbols are used to record the results in the table:

+	the feature appears
-	the feature does not appear
n/a	the category is not appropriate to the example under consideration

A blank indicates that a result cannot be ascertained. The two categories which consider the paintings' proximity to a Last Judgement image, or a *memento mori* such as the Three Living and the Three Dead at Pickworth and Bovey Tracey, or a morality such as the Works of Mercy wheel at Nassington, are intended to indicate to what extent the Marian *Psychostasis* was understood in the context of such images. 'Proximity' here is defined by a

pair of images which can be taken in at a glance. In some cases the Marian Psychostasis appears as part of a Last Judgement. When this occurs the image is recorded as being near a Last Judgement. At Worcester the proximity of a *memento mori* image has been recorded because the painting appears in the context of a hospital.

In all cases the dating has been based on the most recent scholarship in the field. It is, however, a difficult area and for the purposes of the conclusions, I have made a general division between an early group - c.1350-c.1450, and a late group - c.1450-c.1530

CONCLUSIONS

The following points, emerging from the tabulation of the iconographic features of the Marian *Psychostasis*, may be suggested:

- the rosary and book motifs always appear together

- the rosary and book only appear in the early group

- St Michael appears in clerical dress more often in the early group than in the later group. He begins to appear with feathered legs in the early-fifteenth century, emerging first in the context of the Marian *Psychostasis* on alabasters (see an example, where the date can be verified by the treatment of the frame of the panel, now in a private collection but illustrated in the *Burlington Magazine* 1947, p.129, illus. C). In wall-paintings this is a feature of the late group.

- St Michael, feathered, and fighting the seven-headed dragon with a sword is exclusive to the late group

- St Michael's cross-tiara is exclusive to the late group

- The Virgin with loose hair and ermine tippet is exclusive to the late group, surviving in examples from the eastern counties.

- The Marian *Psychostasis* combined with the Virgin of Mercy and rosary motif appears in alabasters in the early group, but is exclusive to the late group in wall-paintings. Without the rosary motif, the image does survive in fourteenth-century wall-painting in Scandinavia, the example from Birkerod referred to in chapter four, for instance.

- With few exceptions, the image is represented independently on the nave wall

APPENDIX II. THE ENGLISH MARIAN *PSYCHOSTASIS* : iconographic analysis

LOCATIONS	DATE	VIRGIN CROWNED	ROSARY	VIRGIN HOLDING BOOK	VIRGIN OF MERCY	MICHAEL FEATHERED	MICHAEL IN CLERICAL VESTMENT	MICHAEL WITH CROSS-TIARA	MICHAEL WITH SWORD	MICHAEL ON 7 HEADED DRAGON	NEAR LAST JUDGEMENT	NEAR MEMENTO MORI	DONOR	S. WALL	N.WALL	POSITION	E. WALL
WALL PAINTINGS																	
BUCKS																	
Broughton, St. Lawrence	1450-1500	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-		+	+	+	-	+		-
Little Hampden															+		-
CAMBS																	
Bartlow, St. Mary	c1500	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-
Barton, St. Peter	c1350-1400	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-		-
DEVON																	
Bovey Tracey, SS Peter, Paul, Thomas	c15th	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-		-
ESSEX																	
Fingringhoe, St. Ouen	Early c16th	+	-	-	?	+	-	-	+		-	+		+	-		-
GLOS																	
Bisley, All Saints	c15th	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	+		-
Kempsley, St. Mary	c15th	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+		-

APPENDIX II. THE ENGLISH MARIAN *PSYCHOSTASIS* : iconographic analysis

LOCATIONS	DATE	VIRGIN CROWNED	ROSARY	VIRGIN HOLDING BOOK	VIRGIN OF MERCY	MICHAEL FEATHERED	MICHAEL IN CLERICAL VESTMENT	MICHAEL WITH CROSS-TIARA	MICHAEL WITH SWORD	MICHAEL ON 7 HEADED DRAGON	NEAR LAST JUDGEMENT	NEAR MEMENTO MORI	DONOR	S. WALL	N.WALL | POSITION	E. WALL
WALL PAINTINGS																
HANTS																
Catherington. All Saints	.1350-1400	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
KENT																
Lenham. St. Mary	:1350-1400	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	+	-	-
LINCS																
Corby. St. John	Early c15th	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-
Pickworth. St. Andrew	Late c14th	+		-	-	-			-			+		-	+	-
Ruislip. St. Martin	Late c15th														+	
NORTHANTS																
Croughton All Saints	c15th		+	-	-						+			-	+	-
Nassington. All Saints	c1400	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-
Slapton. St. Botolph	c1400	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-

APPENDIX II. THE ENGLISH MARIAN *PSYCHOSTASIS* : iconographic analysis

LOCATIONS	DATE	VIRGIN CROWNED	ROSARY	VIRGIN HOLDING BOOK	VIRGIN OF MERCY	MICHAEL FEATHERED	MICHAEL IN CLERICAL VESTMENT	MICHAEL WITH CROSS-TIARA	MICHAEL WITH SWORD	MICHAEL ON 7 HEADED DRAGON*	NEAR LAST JUDGEMENT	NEAR MEMENTO MORI	DONOR	S. WALL | POSITION	N.WALL | POSITION	E. WALL |
WALL PAINTINGS																
OXON																
Beckley, St. Mary } * 1	c15th	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−			−			
Islip, St. Nicholas } * 1	c15th	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−			−			
South Leigh, St. James	c15th		+											+	−	−
Swalcliffe, SS Peter, Paul	c1400		+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
SUSSEX																
Preston	1350-1400	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
WORCS.																
Worcester Hospital of St. Wulfstan	c1500	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	??	??	??

* 1. A conflated drawing of Beckley and Islip appears in Rock (1905) 3, p160. It is probably accurate in its general composition. Rock's dating is too early.

APPENDIX II. THE ENGLISH MARIAN *PSYCHOSTASIS* : iconographic analysis

LOCATIONS	DATE	VIRGIN CROWNED		ROSARY		VIRGIN HOLDING BOOK		VIRGIN OF MERCY		MICHAEL FEATHERED		MICHAEL IN CLERICAL VESTMENT		MICHAEL WITH CROSS-TIARA		MICHAEL WITH SWORD		MICHAEL ON 7 HEADED DRAGON		NEAR LAST JUDGEMENT		NEAR MEMENTO MORI		DONOR		S. WALL		N. WALL		E. WALL
																										POSITION					
OTHER MEDIA.																															
SCULPTURE																															
Weobley. HEREFORD	Late c15th	+		+		-		-		+		-		-		+		-		[illegible]		[illegible]		-		[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	
Minehead. SOMERSET																															
stone relief on St. Mary's Church	c15th	+		+		-		+		-		+		-		-		-		[illegible]		[illegible]		-		[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	
London. VAM																															
alabaster relief A209-1946	c15th	+		+		?		-		+		-		+		+		+		[illegible]		[illegible]		-		[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	
Paris. Musée du Louvre																															
alabaster relief	c15th	+		+		-		+		-		+		-		-		-		[illegible]		[illegible]		-		[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	
MANUSCRIPT ILLUMINATION																															
BOOK of HRS. York use BOULONGE																															
Bibliothèque. Municipal ms 92 f81.24	c1390	+		+		-		-		-		-		-		-		-		[illegible]		[illegible]		-		[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	
PANEL PAINTING																															
Wellingham. NORFOLK		+		+		-		-		+		-				+		-		[illegible]		[illegible]		-		[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	
rood screen painting in St. Andrew Church	c1532																														

CHAPTER FIVE

ENDNOTES

1. *Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed., H.N. McCracken, 2 vols, *EETS* ES 107 (1911) 1, p.304.

2. See Appendix 2 for English Marian *Psychostases*, bibliography and iconographic analysis.

3. Quoted in A.Breeze, 'The Virgin's Rosary and St Michael's Scales in Medieval Welsh Poetry and English Art', *Studia Celtica* 24 (1991) 91-98 (p.96).

4. The image of the Marian *Psychostasis* rarely appears as part of a general Doom composition unlike the simple *Psychostasis*. Many of the narratives in which the episode appears include it as part of a warning dream of an individual judgement which leads the dreamer to mend his or her ways on waking. For example, James of Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, ed., T. Graesse, repr. from 1890 ed. (Osnabruck: Otto Zeller Verlag, 1969), p.514; *Speculum Laicorum*, ed., J.Th. Welter (Paris: A. Picard, 1914) p.74. It is also evident that a number of pre-Reformation commentators emphasised, like Bale, that intercession at the Last Judgement would have no effect. See The *Liber Celestis* of Bridget of Sweden, ed., R. Ellis, *EETS* 291, 2 vols (1987) I, p.50; *Middle English Sermons*, ed., W.O. Ross, EETS 209 (1940) p.113; G.R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926) p.335.

5. Esdras was probably written in the first century AD. See *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, ed., H.F.D. Sparks, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984) pp 927-8. A further use of the scales of justice metaphor can be found in Isaiah 28:17 *Et ponam in pondere iudicium et iustitiam in mensura.*

6. M.R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928) pp 529-533. This was probably a fourth-century text which, James remarks, was popular in western literature, p.525.

7. E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1066*, *SMIBI* 2 (1976) no.78.

8. Jean-Marie Berland, *Val de Loire Roman*, Zodiaque 3, 3rd ed. (1980) pp 103-107.

9. For example, in the early-fifteenth-century Rohan Hours (BN ms.lat. 9471 fol 159) in the miniature which prefaces the office for the dead. See *The Rohan Book of Hours*, intro. by M. Meiss (London: Thames & Hudson, 1973) pl.63.

10 For example, the martyrdom of St George on an early-fifteenth-century Valencian altarpiece (London, VAM

1217-1864). C.M. Kauffmann, *The Altar-Piece of St George from Valencia*, repr. from the V&A Yearbook 2, 1970 (London: Phaidon Press) fig. 15.

11. For example, the early-thirteenth-century Last Judgement tympana on the west front of Notre Dame, Paris and the south transept of Chartres. See W. Sauerlander, *Gothic Sculpture in France 1140-1270*, trans., J. Sondheimer (London: Thames & Hudson,1972) pls. 108 & 145.

12. For further discussion of the iconography of the 'merciful contract' see chapter 7.

13. Canon law was codified in the eleventh and twelfth century, and Gratian's *Decretum* was completed c.1150. Roman law began to be revived from the late eleventh century, becoming widespread in the twelfth century. Denny draws attention to the legal language used in the inscription on the Autun tympanum where the *Psychostasis* makes one of its earliest appearances in Western art in the context of the Last Judgement. Don Denny, 'The Last Judgement Tympanum at Autun: Its Sources and Meaning', *Speculum* 57,3 (1982) 532-547 (pp 542-5). The association between Justice and scales had appeared in Christian art from the ninth century. A. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art from early Christian times to the thirteenth century*, trans., Alan J.P. Crick (London: Warburg Institute, 1939; repr. New York: Norton, 1964) p.31 & pp 48-51.

14. A. Maury, 'Recherches sur l'Origine de la Psychostasie', *Revue Archaeologique*, I (1844) 235-249 & 291-307 (pp.291-2).

15. Maury (1844) pp.291-307. For examples of the *Psychostasis* appearing on Greek vases see M.P. Perry, 'On the Psychostasis in Christian Art', *Burlington Magazine* 22 (1912/13) 94-105 & 208-230 (pp 94-201).

16. See Reau 2, part 1, p.44

17. Sermon 397. On the Sack of the City of Rome. See *The Works of St Augustine*, trans., E.Hill, ed., J.E. Rotelle (New York: New York City Press, 1995) Part 3, vol 10, p.442.

18. *Statera facata corporis Tulitque praedam tartari.* See Matthew Britt, *The Hymns of the Breviary and Missal*, (New York: Benziger, 1948) p.115.

19. Gregory the Great, *Moralia*, ed., M. Adriaen, 3 vols, CC 143 (1985) Bk 7, ch.2. In the twelfth century Rupert of Deutz employed the image of the scales in a similar way. His commentary on the passage in Job equates the cross with the scales (*PL* 167, 1612-1613, see also *PL* 169, 187-188). For further textual

examples of this particular use of the scales metaphor see Philippe Verdier, 'Les staurotheques mosanes et leur iconographie du Jugement dernier', *CCM* 17 (1973) 97-121 & 199-213 (117-8). The image recurs in two hymns by Alexander Neckham (d.1217). See *AH* 48, 267 & 269. Both hymns are dedicated to the Virgin.

20. Palladius, *The Lausiac History*, trans., & ed., R.T. Meyer. Ancient Christian Writers No.34 (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1965) p.76.

21. Liege, Musee Curtuis. P. Lasko, *Ars Sacra*, 2nd ed (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1994) fig 238.

22. *Iliad*,22, vv.210-214. The scales weighing down on Hector's side condemn him to death, although there are no overtones of moral judgement in this episode.

23. *Liber Celestis* (1987) p.443. See also an unusual example from a fifteenth-century Welsh poem describing a Marian *Psychostasis* in which, untypically for this context, good weighs light in the balance: "The rosary was fixed about the scales, and her (i.e. the Virgin's) intent was not less than to lighten the load from the scale beam with her hand". Translated and quoted by Breeze (1991) 97, n.5. For further examples of the erratic movement of the scales in visual examples see Verdier (1973) 201, n.145.

24. The movement of the scales ultimately depends on what is being understood to be weighed against what. An unusual example appears on the wall-painting referred to in part IX of this chapter at St Martin's, Ruislip. Here the Virgin throws coins in one scale-pan so making the soul in the opposite scale pan rise up as a result of the weight of his/her good works

25. Cited by Maury (1844) 246-247.

26. See G. Philippart, 'Le Recit Miraculaire Marial dans l'Occident Medievale' in *Marie: Le Culte de la Vierge dans la Societe Médiévale* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1996) p.575.

27. The surviving iconography of this miracle can be seen, for example, in a thirteenth-century fresco cycle in S. Lorenzo, Rome (see G. Kaftal, *The Iconography of the Saints in Central and Southern Italy* (Florence: Sansoni, 1986) col 679; and in a wall-painting of c.1440 in the church at Tyberg, Denmark (see U, Haastrup & R. Egevang, *Danske Kalkmalerier Gotik 1375-1475* (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, 1985) no. 44.

28. *James of Voragine, Legenda Aurea*, ed., T. Graesse, (Osbabruck: Otto Zeller Verlag, 1969) p.515. For the

influence of the Golden Legend on late medieval culture see G. Philippart, 'Les miracles mariaux de Jean Hérolt (1434) et la Légende dorée' in *Le Moyen Francais*, 32 (1993) 53-67. For a similar Middle English account see *The Middle English Miracles of the Virgin*, ed., B. Boyd (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1964) p.129.

29. *Le Speculum Laicorum*, ed., J.Th. Welter (Paris: A. Picard, 1914), p.74. The other two miracles are the Theophilus story and a story about a pregnant abbess.

30. *The Pilgrimage of the Soul. A critical edition of the Middle English Dream Vision*, ed., R.P. McGerr, 2 vols. (New York and London: Garland 1990) I, pp xl-xliii, p.47ff. Guillaume makes a reference also to the *Psychostasis* in a hymn to St Michael: *Animarum qui libramen/ Et stateram ad examen/ Habes, supplex te postulo,/Ut cum trahes ad probamen/Miseri mei spiramen...AH* 48, 342.

31. Maury (1844) 241-243.

32. Jean Hérolt, *Miracles of the Virgin*, ed., C.C.S. Bland (London: Routledge, 1928) pp 76-77. As a visual motif this episode had already appeared in Dominican circles at an earlier date. A fourteenth-century wall-painting in the Dominican church at Guebwiller shows a Marian *Psychostasis* in which a Man of Sorrows appears between the Virgin and St Michael. The Virgin points towards Christ's blood dripping into the scales. See J. Fournée, *Le Jugement Dernier. Le Vitrail de la Cathédrale de Coutances* (Paris, 1964) p.101 & pl.32.

33. Alain de la Roche, *Redivivus de psalterio seu rosario Christi ac Mariae, eiusdemque fraternitate rosaria*, ed., A. Coppenstein (1624), p 452.

34. J. Rhodes, 'The Rosary in Sixteenth Century England I', *Mount Carmel* 31, No 4 (1983) 180-191 (pp 186-187). See also Breeze (1991) 97-98, notes 6-8.

35. Lydgate cautions against empty devotions in *The Virtues of the Mass: Your Pater-noster, your Ave, nor your Crede, where Charyte fayleth, profyteth lytyll or nought. Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed., H.N. McCracken, 2 vols, *EETS* ES 107 (1911) I, p.105. See also *Mirk's Festiall*, ed., T. Erbe, *EETS* ES 96 (1905) pp 299-300. He recommends it is better to say *fewe wodys wyth devocion, than many wythoute devocion*. See also Alain de la Roche (1624) pp 466-467. A visual example of these concerns can be seen, for example, in fifteenth-century wall-paintings in the churches of Keldby and Fanefjord in Denmark showing two men saying their rosary before Christ on the cross. Their thoughts are represented by red lines issuing from their mouths. In one case the lines link up with Christ's wounds and in the other with representative

examples of the man's worldly goods, such as a horse and a chest. Similar contemporary images are discussed by J. O'Reilly in *Studies in the Iconography of the Virtues and Vices in the Middle Ages* (New York: Garland, 1988) pp 226-241.

36. For a survey and bibliography of the *Psychostasis* in European Art see L. Kretzenbacher, *Die Seelenwaage*, (Klagenfurt:Verlag des Landesmuseums fur Karnten, 1958).

37. In Judaism Michael was considered the angel of Justice, the special guardian of souls after death and the protector from assaults of the devil. See C. Townsend, 'Account of a fresco painting discovered at Preston in Sussex', *Archaeologia* 23 (1831) p.311. In the Christian cult Michael was also hailed as the angel of peace - see, for example, the ninth-century hymn *Christe sanctorum decus angelorum* by Rabanus Maurus which appears in the Sarum office for St Michael (*Breviarum Ecclesiae Sarum*, eds., F. Procter &·C. Wordsworth, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1886) 3, col.876. For Michael as a victor over evil see, for example, *AH* 49, 141 from the eleventh century and *Proctor & Wordsworth* (1879) 3, col 871. For late medieval devotion to St Michael in England see E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1992) pp 270-271. For iconography see Reau 2, part 1, pp 44-51.

38 . See Verdier (1973) 117 for two early medieval western examples drawn from manuscript illuminations, showing the scales of judgement held by a disembodied hand, and by Christ himself, in which Michael does not feature. In both cases the images accompany passages from psalms about divine justice. The tenth-century Irish cross at Muirebach in Ireland features a *Psychostasis*, but given its isolation chronologically and geographically, it is impossible to argue for the influence, even indirect, of this example. See Denny (1982) 533 n.4.

39. For example, in BN, ms grec 74 f.51v, dating from the eleventh century. Repr. in A. Cocagnac, *Le Jugement Dernier dans l'art* (Paris, 1955) p.17.

40. See, for example, at St Eutrope (Saintes)- capital in crypt; Conques (Rouergue)- west tympanum, Corme-Royale (Saintonge) - corbel on west front. For La Daurade see K. Horste, *Cloister Design and Monastic Reform in Toulouse. The Romanesque Sculpture of La Daurade* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) pp 99-100, pl. 49.

41. For the Autun tympanum see D.Grivot & G. Zarnecki, *Gislebertus, Sculptor of Autun, new ed.* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1985) pp 21-28. Also Denny (1982).

42. For Autun inscription see Grivot & Zarnecki (1985) p.22.

43. At Saujon (Saintonge) Michael is assisted by an angel who does engage with a demon by pushing him away with his hand, whilst Michael leads a soul to the scales. See F. Éygun, *Saintonge Roman*, 2nd ed., Zodiaque 33 (1979) pl. 121.

44. See also the shrine of St Servatius at Maastricht c.1160 (discussed by Verdier (1973) 199-207) which more explicitly links good works and salvation by inscribing *bona operi* above the scale pan. As a commentary on the Seven Acts of Mercy, this shrine links the scales motif with the account of the Second Coming in Matthew 25.

45. For the Conques tympanum see G. Gaillard, *Rouergue Roman*, Zodiaque 17 (1968) pp 29-34 & 49-51.

46. For examples at Chaldon, Clayton, St John's Chapel in Guildford and Stowell see E. W. Tristram, *English Medieval Wall-Painting. The Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1944) pp 108-109, pp 113-115, 126-128, 147-148. St Michael appears holding scales and a rod which may be a spear or sceptre in his other hand at the top of a page of canonical tables in an early-eleventh-century Gospels book (Cambridge, Pembroke College, ms 301 fol 3). Mirroring him on the opposite page is an image of the Virgin making an interesting pairing in the light of points raised in this chapter and in Chapters 3 and 7. See T.H. Olgren. *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts. An iconographic catalogue c625-1100* (New York: Garland, 1986) p.207.

47. Tristram (1944) pp 36-39 & Pl.38.

48. See J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans., A. Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984) ch.8. & p.289.

49. For two tenth-century examples of this Harrowing of Hell type see Schiller 3, fig 106, and the Basilewsky situla in the VAM (A.18-1933).

50. E. Male discusses the influence of Honorius' *Speculum Ecclesiae* and *Elucidarium* on medieval iconography in *The Gothic Image: religious art in France in the thirteenth century*, 3rd ed., trans., D. Nussey (New York: Harper & Row, 1972) pp 39-46 & 148-152.

51. The references can be found in: *Elucidarium*, Lib. 3 (*PL* 172, cols.1157-61); *Speculum Ecclesiae* (*PL* 172, col 898C); *Scala Coeli Minor* (*PL* 172, col 1239B); *Scala Coeli Major* (*PL* 172, col 1230D). The ladder image is frequently used by twelfth-century writers. See O'Reilly (1988) pp 349-359 for further

discussion of this motif in literature and iconography.

52. *PL* 172. *Elucidarium*, Lib.3 *PL* 172, cols 1165-1168.

53. *Speculum Ecclesiae*, *PL* 172, col 898.

54. For example at Bourges, Rampillon, Amiens, Bazas, Chartres (S. portal) and Dax. The central west portal at Paris is an exception where both are equal in size. Sauerlander (1972) pls. 292, 180, 161, 307, 112, 308 & 145.

55. For a repr., of the Bourges *Psychostasis*, see M. Hurlimann & J. Bony, *French Cathedrals*, 2nd ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1967) pls. 172 & 173. For Amiens, see S. Murray, *Notre Dame, Cathedral of Amiens. The Power of Change in Gothic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996) p.104.

56. Thematically related to such images, but in a different context and expressed in a far more convoluted manner are images appearing in a small group of manuscripts of continental origin dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. In very diagramatic form they represent the old idea found in Gregory and Venantius of the crucifix as the scales. They represent the final stage of development of this particular theme in *Psychostasis* iconography. See F. Wormald, 'The Crucifix and the Balance', *JWCI* 1 (1937/8) 276-280.

57. See J. Fournée, *L'Arcange de la Mort et du Jugement' Millénaire du Mont Saint Michel*, 3 (Paris, 1971) 82-85. For the use of candles and the saying of *aves* and *paternosters* in rituals for the dead see, for example, L. Toulmin Smith, *Early English Guilds*, *EETS* OS 40 (1870) pp. 164, 166, 169 & 176.

58. For the appearance of a hand only in the scales, there is a late fifteenth-century example in the church at Bollerup in Denmark. See U. Haastrup & R. Evegang, *Danske Kalkmalerier Gotik 1375-1475* (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, 1985). For the Sienese altarpiece see S.A. Fehm Jr., *Luca di Tome - A Sienese Fourteenth- Century Painter*, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1986) no. 45, pl. 46.

59. See P. Deschamps & M. Thibout, *La Peinture Murale en France au début de l'époque Gothique* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1963) pp 193-194; E. de Beaurepaire, 'Les Fresques de Saint-Cenerei-le-Gerei', *Bulletin de la Societé des Antiquaires de Normandie 3* (1864) 264-276.

60. E.W. Tristram, *English Wall-Painting of the Fourteenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955) pp 193-194. A fireplace has been inserted

where the crucifixion would once have been depicted. The Marian *Psychostasis* in a late-fourteenth-century book of hours from York (Boulogne, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms 92, fol 24) is unusually presented as an attribute of St Michael, introducing the suffrages to the Saint. In this example the Virgin does not use the rosary to weigh down the scales but it is St Michael who holds up the scales beam with his hand to counter the efforts of the devils. K.L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490*, *SMIBI* 6, 2 vols (1996) 1, fig. 27; 2, no.7. For an English example of the scales, without the Virgin's intervention, as an attribute of St Michael see the early-sixteenth-century screen at Barton Turf, Norfolk. Tristram's drawing of this image is in the VAM (E.14 1913).The Marian *Psychostasis* which appears on the west tower at Minehead in Devon may also be taken as an attribute of Michael to whom the church is dedicated. Certainly it is too high up to serve any didactic purpose.

61. C. Burgess, '"A fond thing vainly invented": an essay on purgatory and pious motive in later medieval England' in *Parish, Church and People*, ed., S. Wright. (London: Hutchinson, 1988) 56-84. By the same author, 'The Benefactions of Mortality: the lay response in the late medieval urban parish', in *Studies in Clergy and Ministry in Medieval England*, ed., D.M. Smith. Bothwick Studies in History I (1991) 65-86.

62. Two examples of continental Marian *Psychostases* appear in the wall-paintings in the churches at Birkerod and Fanefjord in Denmark.

63. J. Edwards, 'Some Murals in North East Oxfordshire', *Oxoniensa* 58 (1993) 241-245.

64. For example, the fourteenth-century wall-painting at Wood Eaton in Oxfordshire where the Saint carries a phylactery inscribed: *Ki c'est image verra le jur de male mort ne murra*.

65. E.M. Moore, 'Wall-paintings recently discovered in Worcestershire', *Archaeologia 88 (1938) 281-287.*

66. *For the Beaune altarpiece see E. Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting: its origin and character*, 2 vols (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1958) 2, pl.188. For Grunewald's altarpiece see G. Scheja, *The Issenheim Altarpiece*, trans., R.E. Wolf (New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1969). 'Tavelotte', or images to comfort the sick, were used in Italy between the fourteenth and the seventeenth centuries, representing a similar function for religious imagery. See D. Freedburg, *The Power of Images*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989) pp 5-9.

67. J. Rhodes,'The Rosary in Sixteenth Century England I' in *Mount Carmel*, 31,4 (1983) 180-191.

68. The Welsh examples cited by Breeze (1991) date from the mid fifteenth century. Alain de la Roche was writing in the late fifteenth century.

69. Caiger-Smith implies there was once a rosary at Swalcliffe. A. Caiger-Smith, *English Medieval Wall-Paintings* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963) p.61.

70. See ch.4, n.77, 81 and 86 for the relationship between the Marian Psalter as a set of prayers based on the psalter and as a set of prayer beads. Also for use of these devotions in funeral ceremonies and their appearance on funerary monuments. Several images of the rosary appear in an English illuminated encyclopaedia (*Omne Bonum*) dating from the second quarter of the fourteenth century. (BL, ms. Royal 6.E.VI & 6.E.VII). See L.F.Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385*, *SMIBI* 5, 2 vols (1986) 2, no. 124.

71 For the private recital of the Office for the Dead see J. Harthan, *Books of Hours* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1977) pp 17-18.

72. *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate* (1911) p.80. See also a passage from the 'C' text of *Piers* Plowman which appears in translation in *Piers the Ploughman*, trans., J.F. Goodridge (London: Penguin, 1966) p.258.

73. Duffy (1992) p.183.

74. See E.C. Rouse & A. Baker, 'The wall-paintings at Longthorpe Tower near Peterborough, Northants', *Archaeologia* 96 (1955) 1-57.

75. Tristram (1955) p.225.

76. See C. Rouse, 'The wall-paintings in St Andrew's Church, Pickworth' *JBAA*, 3rd ser.,13 (1950) 24-33.

77. See Appendix 1 for reference to nineteenth-century drawing of Bovey Tracey Marian *Psychostasis* next to the Three Living and the Three Dead.

78. A donor also appears in the Bovey Tracey drawing.

79. For example in the early-fifteenth-century Beaufort Hours (BL, Royal ms 2 A. XVIII, fol.23v) the donors kneel beyond the Gothic canopy framing the Annunciation. In the early-fifteenth-century Flemish Merode Altarpiece (New York, Metropolitan Museum), the donors are placed on the wing of the altarpiece outside the 'room' where the Annunciation is taking place.

80. *Liber Celestis* (1987) p.258

81. The *Psychostasis* at Croughton, Northamptonshire, is visually associated with the Last Judgement although not fully integrated with it. It appears at the north-east end of the north aisle wall, adjacent to the Doom spreading over the chancel arch.

82. Caiger-Smith (1963) p.35. The image was removed c,1460 from the Doom and replaced by figures rising from their tombs.

83. See S.Tugwell, *Human Immortality and the Redemption of Death* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1990) p.312 for Aquinas' advocacy of the double judgement in which the soul is judged at death, and pp 133-140 for John XXII's position denying immediate judgement and Benedict XII who reaffirmed it in 1336.

84. *The Mirour of Mans Salvacioune: a middle english translation of Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, ed., A. Henry (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1986) p.197.

85. *The Golden Legend as Englished by William Caxton*, 7 vols (London: Dent, 1900) 4, p.252. In the Latin version she is called *Mater Misericordiae*.

86. Or she may be enthroned with her Son. See the *Psychostasis* in a French fourteenth-century manuscript of Marian miracles, Bod, ms Douce 374, fol 4.

87. *Liber Celestis* (1987) p.118

88. Breeze (1991) 97

89. This transition is discussed by P.A. Newton in *The County of Oxford*, CVMA, Gt Britain I (London,1979) p.253. For another partnership between George and the Virgin in late medieval English art see the late-fifteenth-century chandalier hanging in the Berkeley chapel in Bristol Cathedral which centres on depictions of these two saints. In the destroyed wall-paintings of St Stephen's chapel, Westminster Palace, the Virgin and St George presented members of the royal family to the image formerly depicted on the altarpiece there. See chapter 2, n.7

90. See T.E. Bridgett, *Our Lady's Dowry* (London: Burns, Oates & Co, 1875) p.1.

91. *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, eds., A.Hughes & M. Bent. American Institute of Musicology 46 (1973) p.37. *Alma Proles/Christi Miles: Quicquid tu oraveris impetrare poteris propter tua merita/ Regnum serves anglie que non ruat misere nostra per demerita/ Matris tocius gracie instes tu clemencie ferat ut auxilium/ Terram suam protegat regemque custodiat ab incursu hostium/ Virgo decus virginum.*

92. For reference to Tristram's drawing see Appendix 2.

93. For example on the twelfth-century triptych from Cologne in the VAM (4757-58).

94. D. Rock, *The Church of Our Fathers*, eds., G.W. Hart & W.H.Frere, 4 vols (London: John Murray, 1905) 3, p.211.

CHAPTER SIX

THE EMPRESS OF HELL

Sequitur: Fecit confusionem in domo regis Nebuchodonosur, hoc est, in inferno, cuius limbum evacuavit per Filium et captivis illis coelum aperuit. Et ideo porta paradisi clausa per Hevam, per eam iterum aperta est. Nec malignos spiritus qui servos suos impugnant confundere umquam cessat. Per eam enim Holofernes iacet in terra quia eius adiutorio et exemplo vilipenditur mundus, cuius contemptum Christus docuit verbo et exemplo (1)

In the last chapter, in her quest to save souls for heaven, the Virgin found herself, in the scene of the *Psychostasis*, pitting her strength and her wits against the devil. This chapter aims to explore further the significance and origins of this encounter, and the ways it was expressed in the visual arts. In a number of respects this is a subject which differs from what has been examined earlier. It will be seen that this is an area in which the Virgin's skills as appeaser, a persuader, and a good listener are rendered redundant. To counter the devil, she is decisive, sharp-witted, physically powerful and a puller of rank. She is not a mother, but a Queen, an Empress or a Lady.

By the end of the medieval period the most common Marian epithet conveying her power in this area is, as it is expressed in middle English where it is most commonly found, the Empress of Hell. It is invoked when the prospect of hell after death is the prominent preoccupation in the context in which it appears. Thus it can be found when danger threatens which might result in

sudden death (2), or when sin is particularly on the mind of the devotee.(3) Victory over hell in a more general way, and the Virgin's perceived role in that may also call forth the phrase.(4) Sometimes it is used simply to express the Virgin's universal power, not only in heaven, but in hell and on earth too.(5) The term evidently does not refer to the Virgin being enthroned in hell surrounded by her diabolic supporters. Loosely speaking, it is used to convey her power to overturn evil in many forms from metaphorical references to her dominion over darkness, to theological notions such as her role in overturning original sin and conquering death, to more specific debacles between the Virgin and personifications of evil such as devils or Satan himself.

The epithet emerged as a result of that strand of Marian devotion which celebrated her integral role in the cycle of Salvation which could not be detached from that of her Son. The sentiment is expressed in Bernard's phrase:

Non est dubium, quidquid in laudibus matris proferimus, ad filium pertinere, et rursum cum filium honoramus, gloria matris non recidimus.(6)

In other words, as Redemption overturned the curse of original sin, so the Virgin, because of her integral role in the Incarnation, assisted in the Victory. Yet the late Middle Ages generally saw the Empress of Hell standing alone with no Emperor beside her, suggesting a unique rather than a complementary role for the mother. Two explanations may be offered for this development. First,

the Virgin's role in the story of Redemption is particularly attached to the cycle of events around Christ's birth, a narrative in which Christ is either not physically present or appears as a small child. Secondly, an important area in which this epithet was also employed was as a way of expressing the Virgin's power as an intercessor, a role in which she acts independently. The term is very often employed therefore in scenes involving individual judgement in which the Virgin's intercession is sought, and in those celebrating the Incarnation such as the Annunciation (7) or Nativity.(8) In relation to the birth narratives, it is often linked with the notion of the new Eve referred to below who crushes original sin.

With regard to the separate powers over heaven and hell, it may be significant that she is usually referred to as Queen of Heaven and Empress of Hell. The implications of these titles must have had their nuanced meanings for western Europeans of the late Middle Ages, just as the terms king and president do in modern times. The Holy Roman Emperor had jurisdiction over many lands but, if he had a royal title, was monarch of the land in which he resided. It may be significant that the title was not an hereditary one, but that candidates were elected, just as the Virgin was elected to fulfil her role as vehicle of the Incarnation. The prototype Roman Empire consisted of conquered territory. So, Mary may be understood to live in heaven as Queen, but also rule an empire which extended to hell.

Empress of Hell is frequently linked with the title

Queen of Heaven in Middle English literature, and often, Lady of Earth is added to that to form a trio of titles to imply universal rule.(9) This idea is anticipated in Amadeus' sixth Marian homily where he says that, after the Virgin's coronation in heaven, Mary received from Christ the sovereignty of heaven through glory, the reign over the world by mercy, and dominion over hell through power.(10) However, there are exceptions. In some cases she is Empress of Heaven and Hell. (11) In a poem from the Vernon manuscript she is the *mihtiest of middel-erth*, a phrase which appears in a sentence in which the fear she inspires in *fendes* is described.(12) This title appears to celebrate her status amongst humans - she is the most powerful of human-beings since she is not simultaneously divine like her son. In an episode from Bridget of Sweden's *Liber Celestis* she is the 'princess of the devil.'(13) This might well be a distant echo of the original Swedish in which the book was written which was then translated into Latin, and thence into English.

I LUCIFER/*LUCIFERA*

The editor of the *Wheatley manuscript* noted that the origin of the idea of giving the Virgin a title which suggested her power over evil had its beginnings in a term used by early christian writers presumably as a deliberate contrast to the name of the fallen angel, Lucifer.(14) The Greek from of *Lucifera* appears in the writings of Cyril of Alexandria and Ephraim of Syria, the former reference

occuring in a sermon in praise of the Virgin *Deipara*. The latinised Greek reads:

Maria Deipara, Virgo Mater, Lucifera... per quam prodiit lux vera.(15)

The epithet here belongs to the greater repertory of Marian titles which refer to the Virgin's role as the vehicle for the Incarnation. In this case a neat mirroring with Lucifer occurs where, just as the original light-bearer became responsible for plunging the world into darkness, so the second *Lucifera* will bring forth the new light to restore the world.(16)

The term is rare in Latin writing although the idea of Mary as the new light-bearer quenching the light of old Lucifer is apparent in this passage in praise of the Virgin written by Venantius Fortunatus (d. c.600):

Lyebnites hebes est, cedit tibi Lucifer ardens,
Omnibus officiis lampade major ades (17)

The connection between Mary and Lucifer is also maintained in a passage from a Marian Sermon by Amadeus of Lausanne, the final in the series where the Virgin is described as sitting on the throne which once belonged to Lucifer:

.....humilem ancillam erigis et exaltas, unde hostem aemulum olim exulperas.(18)

The association between the Virgin and light is a widespread theme in medieval art and literature, and the specific angle which suggests light conquering darkness occurs in such Marian titles as *Aurora* (19), *Stella Matutina* (20), *Ortus Solis* (21), *Caeli Porta* (22) and

Stella Solem (23). An inscription on the tower of a late-eighth-century church at Monte Cassino, dedicated to the Virgin began:

Sublatis tenebris, quia per te mundus habere
Lumen promuerit, virgo et sanctissima mater,.. (24)

A particularly apt example in the visual arts which upholds this symbolism and which is associated with the late Middle Ages can be found in a small group of late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth-century chandaliers which survive in England. These, on the whole, feature a figure of the Virgin with or without the child in the centre of a design from which candle-holding branches spring. Only one, of the group published, does not contain a Marian element.(25) Continental equivalents are noted by Panofsky.(26) He also draws attention to a later medieval derivative of the title, *Lucifera*, when he quotes a passage from the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*:

Ipsa enim est candelabrum et ipsa Lucerna... Christus Mariae filius est candela accensa.(27)

The description of Mary as a lamp can be found in twelfth-century writings such as *mea lucerna* in a Marian prayer from Monte Cassino, *lucerna aurea* in the *Mariale* of the Cistercian abbot, Adam of Perseigne, or in this passage from a hymn, attributed to Adam of St Victor, which appears in the Sarum Mary Mass:

Ave, virginum lucerna,
Per quam fulsit lux seperna
His quos umbra tenuit.(28)

Whilst, therefore, the image of the Virgin as one who heralds the coming of light remains necessarily in the literary domain, the metaphor of the light-bearer finds its expression both visually, and through the medium of the written word

II EMPRESS OF HELL

However, a more direct reference to the Virgin's power over Hell, the title Empress of Hell, was to become established as the standard epithet of this type in English by the end of the Middle Ages. It became widespread from the late fourteenth century, though its origins can be traced back at least as far as the tenth century.(29) A significant case is the example to be found in the Old English *Advent Lyrics* which appear in the Exeter Book.(30) They take as their starting point the antiphons sung at Vespers during Advent, expanding the liturgical text and, by so doing, sometimes modifying the emphases or meaning of the original. The ninth lyric is based on an antiphon which takes the Incarnation for its subject and marvels at the paradox of God as Man. Although opening with the invocation, *Domina Mundi*, it concentrates on Christ. The Old English version takes the former, the Marian invocation, and expands it, largely at the expense of the latter. The panegyric on the Virgin which ensues includes the description of her as lady of heaven, earth and hell. This mirrors a trinity of titles more commonly

associated with Christ, which feature earlier in the poem.(31) This English distortion of a Latin text to give greater prominence to Mary is not surprising in the fervent Marian atmosphere of the late Anglo-Saxon period, and is interesting in the light of its reflection of titles associated with Christ, and the popularity of the notion of the Virgin's dominion over hell later on in the Middle Ages.(32)

Similar references to the Virgin appear in Latin literature in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. A writer who explores the idea in a work which was to become popular and widely read throughout the medieval period was Anselm of Canterbury who quarried this theme in his third prayer to the Virgin.(33) The prayer presents an ingenious matching of careful phrasing with effusive lyricism. With reference to hell, the Virgin is praised for the vicarious power she exercises by virtue of the fact that she gave birth to the Redeemer. Through her devils are trodden underfoot, and her benefits extend to heaven and hell.(34) Amongst spurious writings attributed to Anselm appears a miracle account in which the metaphoric ideas employed by Anselm in the *Orationes* are transferred into a narrative in which the Virgin triumphs over Satan to rescue a pilgrim.(35) A later twelfth-century writer, Adam of St Victor, expressed the Virgin's power over hell in the context of a hymn with the words, *Imperatrix Supernorum, Superatrix Infernorum*, a crisp echo of the sentiments conveyed in Anselm's prayer described above.(36)

From these beginnings, the Empress of Hell later came into wide usage in the English language. The context appears to be a largely popular one, suggested anyway by the vernacular usage, appearing in *exempla* (37), carols (38), lyrics (39), devotional treatises (40), mystery plays (41), and popular devotions.(42) As has already been suggested this direct, and perhaps unsettling title for modern ears has a number of angles from which it may be understood. These would include Mary as the Empress of Hell because she gave birth to the conqueror of hell; in her role as co-redeemer and the Second Eve; as saving humankind from hell through her role as *mediatrix*; and through her particular power over the devil stemming from her identity with the Apocalyptic Woman of Revelation 12. The link between the two titles, Queen of Heaven and Empress of Hell, presents a further insight into the way the Virgin's infernal dominion may be understood. The actions of the devil at the Fall were the root cause of the Virgin's enthronement in heaven, a logical train of thought partially encapsulated in the phrase, *Felix Culpa*, from the ancient Easter sequence known as the *Exsultet*.(43) A survey and analysis of the expression of these ideas in art and literature, especially of the late Middle Ages, will be the focus of the following pages.

III THE WOMAN IN GENESIS 3:15

Inimicitias ponam inter te et mulierem, et semen illius: ipsa conteret caput tuum, et tu insidiaberis calcaneo eius.

Genesis 3:15 conjures up the visual image of Mary crushing the serpent of the Garden of Eden under her foot, since the 'she' referred to in Jerome's text was eventually understood to refer to the Virgin.(44) This piece of Marian exegesis was generally accepted in the late Middle Ages and played a crucial role in the formulation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. Eventually it was to be presented as the biblical basis of the teaching when it became dogma in 1854.(45) An essential element of late medieval and renaissance images of the Immaculate Conception was the monster beneath the Virgin's feet.(46) If the motif was eventually to have this specific link with the Immaculate Conception in Marian doctrine, it is also to be found applied in a much looser way in medieval literature. Another hymn attributed to Adam of St Victor for example, written for the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, describes how the serpent attempted to sting the Virgin's heel but that *fortis et sapiens* she noticed in good time and crushed its head. The type is clearly used in connection with the Incarnation because the lyric continues: *Cuius carni counivit/ Se majestas Filii*.(47) Bishop Robert Grosseteste in the *Castel of Loue* which he translated from the French in the first half of the thirteenth century tells how God had warned the serpent on the tree that a woman would come who would crush its head.(48) In both cases the main thrust of the texts as a whole is the invocation of Mary's help, which is linked, as seen in the phrases quoted, with her victory over evil as the vehicle of the Incarnation.

In the visual arts too the image appears to have a generalised meaning. A close pictorial representation of this idea appears in a small damaged morse ivory relief thought to date from the late Anglo-Saxon period (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. 1978,332).(fig.61) A quatrefoil supported by four angels encloses the Virgin and Child enthroned. Mary raises her right hand whilst Christ blesses with His. She rests her feet on a footstool beneath which is coiled a serpent with open mouth. The power of the Virgin over hell is qualified here by the presence of Christ. The passage from Genesis refers not only to the enmity between the woman and the serpent but also between her seed and its seed. If it has a direct co-relation with the text then the panel must show the victory of the Incarnation over Original Sin. Certainly there are later examples of this type in which the Genesis connection is made explicit. The original trumeau of the north west portal of Notre-Dame, Paris, dating from the early thirteenth century showed the Virgin and Child standing above the Tree of Knowledge with a serpent entwined in its branches.(fig.62)(49)

In the light of other developments in the visual arts, however, the reference in this early medieval period might not be so specific. Given that the Ashmolean ivory is a decontextualised image, whatever its original model may have been, it probably communicated on the level of a visualised metaphor. It is an example from a large group of images, dating from Antiquity, which show monsters crushed underfoot.(50) In the early medieval period they

include the so-called St George and Constantine groups, St Michael himself who, despite the scriptural tradition, is frequently shown with his adversary beneath his feet, and Christ treading the beasts.(51) A yet more obvious example of this metaphor put into concrete terms is the tradition to be found in Romanesque funerary effigies of placing a serpent or some such beast beneath the feet of a churchman.(52) The Virgin with a beast beneath her feet therefore, whilst linked with the tradtional medieval exegesis of Genesis 3:15, must also be considered in this more general iconographic context.

The lack of specific meaning for contemporary commentators is sometimes witnessed in the looseness with which Mary's victim underfoot is drawn by writers from the wider repertory of beasts described in the Old Testament. Hermannus Contractus writing in the eleventh century addresses a hymn to the Star of the Sea in which he praises her for rescuing the world from the curse of Original Sin by striking *furentem Leviathan, serpentem toruosumque*.(53) The same fusion of Leviathan and the serpent of Eden appears again in a fifteenth-century lyric where they are identified with each other as the cause of the Fall.

..ffor though Leviathan, the old serpent
Dissauit had oure parenes prothoplaust,..(54)

A final element to consider in the creation of the iconography of the Virgin with a serpent beneath her feet is the extent to which its development was stimulated by

the early medieval image known as 'Christ treading the Beasts'. The Virgin's later association with this motif in gothic art has been discussed in an earlier chapter.(55) It can be shown however that, at a much earlier point, Marian iconography had been affected by this Christological type. A manuscript dating from the second quarter of the eleventh century made for Crowland Abbey (Oxford. Bod. Douce 296 fol.40) contains the earliest surviving example of a Christ treading the Beasts illustrating a psalter. It faces Psalm 52, the opening of the second section of the Psalms in the conventional tripartite division of the text, the section which includes Psalm 91 from which this image is taken. The illuminated initial opposite introducing the first word, *Quid*, (fol 40v.) takes another theme of beasts being trodden underfoot. A martial figure carrying a sword and shield, presumably St Michael, bears down on a winged dragon which forms the tail part of the letter. Of course, given the decorative treatment of letters at the time, the choice of a reptilian beast to embellish this part of the calligraphy would seem an obvious choice, and does occur elsewhere with a purely decorative purpose.(56) The psalter demonstrates the association made between this group of psalms and the treading beast motif. Another psalter, produced at about the same time for Bury St Edmunds (Rome. Vatican. Biblioteca Apostilica ms Reg. lat.12 fol.62), known as the Bury Psalter, has another treading of the beasts type of image to introduce Psalm 52.(57) The tail of the initial 'Q' is again formed like a

curling beast and the letter encloses the figure of an enthroned woman bearing a palm and a sceptre.(fig.63) Above the letter the words *oliva fructifera*, taken from Psalm 52, are written. The idea of the Virgin as the fruit-bearing olive was, not surprisingly, already in circulation, with its connection between Mary as the progenitor of reconciliation and the olive tree which bears the olive, symbol of peace.(58) There can be no doubt therefore that the figure in the Bury Psalter represents the Virgin who is shown as the bearer of peace and, as such, the victor over evil. She is also making her appearance in a context and in a guise in which Christ is also beginning to appear. The Bury Psalter, in fact, includes its own Christ treading the Beasts appropriately introducing Psalm 91. The Virgin treading the serpent was, at this period, a less ubiquitous image than Christ treading the Beasts, which was well established in iconography before its appearance in psalter illumination. However, this Marian type provides a silvery echo to its swashbuckling Christological counterpart. The fruit-bearing Virgin of the Bury Psalter and the mother who holds the promised child in the Asmolean ivory are passively, but confidently enthroned, crushing the writhing beasts beneath them:

Ego autem, sicut olivera fructifera in domo Dei, speravi in misericordia Dei in aeternum: et in saeculum saeculi (Ps 52:8)

IV THE SECOND EVE

An idea associated with Mary as the woman in Genesis 3:15 is Mary as the Second Eve. The comparison echoes that between Christ and Adam which was made in the Pauline Epistles (1 Corinthians 15:22).(59) That the idea remained linked with this first Christological comparison is born out by Amadeus of Lausanne's return to the Corinthians passage in one of his sermons and giving it a Marian interpretation:

Sicut enim in Eva omnes moriuntur, sic et in Maria omnes vivificabuntur.(60)

By the second century this Marian equivalent was already being explored by theologians such as Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, who particularly explored the theme of contrasting the disobedience of Eve at the Fall with the obedience of Mary at the Annunciation.(61) Other episodes from the Virgin's life were exploited in this First Eve/Second Eve exegesis.(62) The central focus of thought, however, remained on the Annunciation, bursting through into popular consciousness with the famous word-play on *Ave/Eva* in the hymn *Ave Maris Stella* dating at least from the ninth century.(63). This lyric, a foundation stone of Marian popular devotion includes the verse:

Sumens illud Ave
Gabrielis ore
Funda nos in pace
Mutans Evae nomen.

From Latin hymns the theme filtered into vernacular lyrics

such as the macaronic *For on that is so feir*, where *ave* brings about the day succeeding the night which was caused by Eve's sin, and in Lydgate's *Ave Jesse Virgula*.(64) Lydgate is also one of a number of medieval writers who makes the connection between victory over the curse of the Fall and the Annunciation when he salutes Mary as Empress of Hell at the beginning of a stanza describing her First Joy, the Annunciation.(65)

The visual contrast between the Annunciation and the Fall is made in the thirteenth-century *Biblia Pauperum* and is sometimes picked up in illustrations to Matins in late medieval books of hours where the conventional Annunciation image fills the central miniature and a reference to the Temptation or the Expulsion from Paradise is relegated to the margin or to the illuminated initial. (66) Fra Angelico, in a painting now in the Prado, plays with the same theme when Eden, from which Adam and Eve are being evicted, forms the backdrop to the house in which Gabriel and Mary meet.(fig.64)(67)

The visual pairing of Fall and Annunciation is anticipated in the thirteenth century at the Mosan church of Notre Dame de Mont-Devant-Sassey where Adam and Eve and Gabriel and Mary are presented as two companion pairs of jamb figures.(68) More pertinent to the theme of the Virgin as victor over Hell and visually tying in also with the motif from Genesis 3:15 is when scenes of the Fall appear beneath the Virgin's feet. Trumeaux on the west portals of Amiens and Rheims dating from the first half of the thirteenth century feature the standing Virgin, crowned,

holding Christ and surmounting a socle upon which are depicted episodes from the story of Adam and Eve.(69) The Amiens example goes further because directly beneath Mary's feet appears the serpent with the head of a woman.(fig.65) This conflation of ideas, the identity between the serpent and Eve, was finding currency from the thirteenth century, although already hinted at on the twelfth-century lintel formerly on one of the lateral doorways of Autun Cathedral.(70) It remained a standard iconographic feature of the Fall until the High Renaissance.(71) So common a notion had it become by the late fourteenth century that Chaucer could use the phrase, *O serpent under femynynytee*, in the *Man of Law's Tale*, confident of communicating his point.(72) In the Amiens context the image brings together Genesis 3:15 and the Second Eve. Mary crushes the serpent beneath her feet and simultaneously triumphs as the Second Eve above the first.

The Amiens trumeau visually anticipates a famous phrase from Dante's *Paradiso* written a few decades later:

La piaga, che Maria richiuse ed unse,
quella ch' e tanto bella da' suoi piedi
e colei che l'aperse e che la punse (Canto 32:4)

To what extent this passage was directly responsible for an iconographic type to be found in a group of Italian fourteenth-century paintings or whether they emerged as part of the more general trend in iconography exemplified at Amiens cannot be determined. These Italian examples are distinguished by the features of the figure at the Virgin's feet which tend to show Eve with all her feminine

attributes rather than the compound Eve/serpent creature which is more characteristic of the rest of Europe at this time. Possibly the earliest example is a badly damaged fresco attributed to Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the funerary chapel of San Galgano at Montesiepi in Tuscany. The figure of Eve lies at the bottom of the steps of the Virgin's throne, wrapped in a goat skin and holding a small branch from which hangs a fruit like a fig, representing the fruit hanging on the Tree of Knowledge. She holds a scroll which describes the redemption of Original Sin through Christ's Passion.(73) The iconography as it now appears was novel for the first half of the fourteenth century, but it appears that the original conception may have been yet more exclusively Marian in tone. Ambrogio's original composition was later altered by a follower of his brother, Pietro, who added the Christ child to the composition. The contrast between first and second Eve would therefore in the original have been conveyed in a much more focussed way. The connection with the Annunciation is maintained since the image is placed above the meeting of the Virgin and Gabriel.(74) There is a possible direct link with the passage from Dante since Ambrogio appears to have been conversant with the his poetry.(75) A number of other fourteenth-century examples survive. One, attributed to the artist known as the Master of the Straus Madonna, shows not only Eve, but also the serpent with a female face beneath a figure of the *Virgo Lactans*.(fig.66)(76)

V THE HARROWING OF HELL AND THE STORY OF THEOPHILUS

Another area in which Mary could intervene in the battle against evil was an episode which, although not originating in a biblical text, was hinted at in the central liturgy of the church from a very early date. The Athanasian version of the Creed includes the line: *descendit in inferno,* between the references to the Crucifixion and Resurrection.(77) This gave rise to a fully fledged narrative described at length in the Gospel of Nicodemus otherwise known as the Acts of Pilate, an apocryphal text thought to have been developed in the fifth or sixth centuries.(78)

The triumphalist visual counterpart to this story, known as the Harrowing of Hell, found a wide circulation from the tenth century and soon developed the main components which were to remain consistent in its iconography throughout the Middle Ages - Christ or an attendant angel wielding a cross like a lance pierces the mouth of Hell, Satan is bound in chains, the gates of Hell lie broken on the ground, and the imprisoned souls emerge from the hell-mouth usually led by Adam and Eve.(79) Amadeus of Lausanne with his customary flair for transforming Christocentric texts into Marian ones gives a tremendous version of the Harrowing of Hell in his eighth Marian sermon :

Igitur in manu potenti et brachio excelso tyrannorum fines ingreditur, munitissima quaeque daemonum aggreditur, inferna sub pedibus suis faciens contremiscere, et principem mortis nimio terrore percussum resilire. Denique ipsa rubente Behemot evomit praedem, quam in ventrem

malitiae traicerat,... maxilla eius, hamo dominicae crucis perforata reddit liberos quos antea tenuit captivos...(80)

Amadeus here is describing the new deliverance of the damned, *nova perditorum ereptione*, in other words, those who have been condemned since the Redemption. He models the description closely on the conventional image of the Harrowing of Hell.

Whilst artists did not appear to take up the challenge of a Marian Harrowing of Hell, a comparable iconographic scene, remarkable for its closeness to the usual version does appear in the thirteenth century in a different narrative context. The story in question is that of Theophilus, a Faustian figure who made a pact with Satan in order to fulfil his professional ambitions. The miracle account, which finishes with the Virgin winning the contract back from Satan and gaining forgiveness for Theophilus from God, dates from the seventh century and was translated into Latin in the ninth century.(81) Given the significance of this story in the history of Marian devotion, it is perhaps no coincidence that, through iconographic mirroring, connections were made between this account of the rescue of an individual soul from Hell and the more general description of the rescue of souls by Christ in the apocryphal episode.(82)

Two examples taken from thirteenth-century Theophilus cycles show the similarities between the iconography of Christ's harrowing of hell and that of the episode in the Theophilus story where Mary wins the contract back from the Devil.The north transept portal at Notre Dame in Paris

has a trumeau which shows the Virgin and Child with a beast at the former's feet. The tympanum above has another strong reference to Mary's diabolic encounters in its two upper registers which show the Theophilus story. The relevant episode shows the crowned Virgin standing brandishing a cross with a long shaft with which she threatens the trembling Satan whilst Theophilus prays on his knees beside her.(83) Closer still to a Marian Harrowing of Hell in its overall composition is the version in the Lambeth Apocalypse (London. Lambeth Palace. ms no.209 fol 47) in which the shaft, held by an angel, pierces the mouth of hell itself in which sits Satan amongst his cronies holding Theophilus' bond whilst the Virgin wields a birch in her right hand.(figs 67 & 68) Other late medieval examples showing this similarity to the Harrowing of Hell appear amongst the lists provided by Fryer and by Cothren, the latter concerned uniquely with the story of Theophilus in thirteenth-century glass.(84)

The Theophilus story was particularly popular during the thirteenth century fuelled no doubt by comtemporary versions of the story by James of Voragine, Ruteboeuf, and De Coincy.(85) However these written accounts do not provide any comment which might lead an artist or patron to connect the Virgin's recovery of the bond with the Harrowing of Hell. This strand of the pictorial tradition shows the artist as commentator rather than mere illustrator pointing up the significance which the story had accrued by this period. For, although continuing to appear in miracle collections throughout the Middle Ages,

the Theophilus story had a much wider application than the majority of Marian miracles. It was, in the first place, an ancient account and, secondly, by the tenth and eleventh centuries it had been incorporated into liturgy and was being used as an *exemplum* in homilies.(86) As well as an *exemplum* demonstrating the power of the Virgin's intercession, Paul the Deacon's original Latin translation of Theophilus is also widely credited with including one of the first instances in which Mary is referred to as *Mediatrix*.(87)

A passage in a short Anglo-Saxon Marian office points to the early generalisation of the miracle as a type for human experience. The recovery of the bond is the part of the narrative used to praise the Virgin's saving help, *salutari auxilio*, as a mother to humankind and as the vehicle of the Incarnation.

Haec est virgo quae antiquum diabolice deditionis cyrographum abolevit totoque seculo subvenit et caeleste regnum patefecit, dum per spiritum Sanctam Dei filium concepit.(88)

When the narrative appears in art the number of episodes included varies greatly according to the context and space available. However, it has been shown that, for the most part, a central core of episodes always appear - the contract with the devil, the penitence of Theophilus, the recovery of the bond and its restitution.(89) The story provides a pattern for the process whereby the penitent sinner receives forgiveness, which these four scenes sum up. The early example at Souillac shows this in practice

in a typically concentrated, pithy romanesque way, by tumbling the diabolic contract, the repentant Theophilus in the church which significantly he has built in honour of the Virgin, and Mary diving in from the sky above triumphantly returning the bond altogether in one composition.(90) Despite the title *Mediatrix* associated with this miracle, the usual iconography appears to focus on the Marian heart of the narrative which is her engagement with the devil and not her representations to her Son.(91)

The symbolic role of Satan representing anything which tempts away from Godliness need not be laboured. The Virgin, in conquering Satan, is simply extending her work as the Second Eve. As the Second Adam conquered hell by the sacrifice on the cross, so the Second Eve keeps on harrowing hell each time a Theophilus repents of his sin. To reiterate Amadeus, she brings about *nova perditorum ereptione*. By adopting a traditional iconography, the artist can make the same point.

The consciousness of late medieval society of Theophilus as a type and his link with Mary as Queen of Hell can be seen in certain passages from Lydgate and in the following from *The Complaint of the Dying Creature to Faith and Hope* in which Theophilus appears with another pair of penitents:

> *Origen our Blessed Lady have holpen, Theophil and Sir Emory; how should they have done ne the Mother of Mercy had been? And many another sinner that her grace have holpen. She is Queen of Heaven, Lady of the World, and Empress of Hell;....* (92)

VI THE WOMAN IN REVELATION 12

Et signum magnum apparuit in caelo: Mulier amicta sole, et luna sub pedibus eius et in capite eius corona stellarum duodecim (Revelation 12:1)

The passage from *The Complaint of the Dying Creature* just cited comes from a work which exemplifies a literary genre which swept through Europe in the fifteenth century of which the *Ars Moriendi* is the most famous product.(93) Such works focus ed the mind on individual death and judgement, hence the relevance of the Theophilus reference. The invocation of Mary at the point of death to ward off demons is a commonplace of medieval prayers and lyrics, an early and widely used example of which is Anselm's *Admonitio Moriendi*:

Maria, Mater Gratiae, Mater Misericordiae, tu nos ab hoste protege et hora mortis suscipe.(94)

Once again this is an idea which found much wider currency in literature than in art, but here too it can be shown that at least one artist visually anchored this pious belief to the rockbed of biblical exegesis.

Revelation 12 tells of a woman who is about to give birth who is threatened by a dragon. The child is born and immediately taken up to God. St Michael then defeats the dragon who in battle is revealed as Satan. This vivid account with its links between St Michael, Satan, and a mysterious woman who came perhaps inevitably to be identified with the Virgin, clearly provided fertile material for the development of thinking on Mary in relation to Hell and Satan. Whilst early theologians

tended to give the Woman an ecclesial interpretation, later ones gave her both a Marian and an ecclesial one, a natural progression since Mary was recognised as a type for the Church from an early date.(95) Bernard of Clairvaux took this latter approach, in his sermon written for the occasion of the Octave of the Feast of the Assumption, which took the opening of Revelation 12 as its text.(96) The development of later Immaculate Conception iconography with its visual references to the Apocalyptic Woman reveals how important the Marian view of this passage was in the development of the doctrine, and certainly as early as the fourteenth century unambiguous images of Mary in this role were being produced indicating the independence of the Marian interpretation by this date.(97)

If this New Testament book received its due attention from exegetes, the drama of its visionary contents made it a stimulating subject for pictorial embellishment, two particularly fruitful periods being in Spanish illumination in the tenth and eleventh centuries and in England in the thirteenth century.(98) The latter group, with only two exceptions, illustrate the scenes of the dragon threatening the woman whose child is taken up to heaven, and Michael fighting with the dragon.(99). The iconography of the former picture is fairly consistent, typically showing the Woman reclining with the moon at her feet and stars around her head, handing her child up to an angel and away from the beast who lurks on the other side of her. These illustrations echo a tinted drawing in a

manuscript of Augustine's *Civitate Dei* (Oxford, Bod, Laud Misc.469 fol.7v) which was produced probably in Canterbury around 1130.(fig.69) This large image is divided into two registers. The top represents a cross-nimbused majesty blessing and holding the Book of Life in his hand. He is flanked by twelve apostles seated in two rows. Amongst them John is identifiable, being beardless, and Peter, because he holds a key and wears what appears to be a spotted skull-cap which is possibly meant to indicate a tonsure. The group is framed by an arch which presents a schematic building with five towers, three with crosses. The bottom register is divided into two. On the left, inside a walled city, a haloed figure wearing the same headgear as St Peter, pierces a devil in the mouth with a lance and, in doing so, is ejecting him out over the city walls where another devil waits brandishing a bow and arrow. Three other haloed figures appear next to St Peter. On the right a prostrate figure lies in bed censed by an angel. A large demon in the foreground reaches up to attack an enthroned woman holding a child. The latter is about to be rescued from the woman's lap by an angel descending from the sky.(100)

This image stirs a number of iconographic reminiscences particularly, with reference to the Marian theme, in the bottom register. Curiously Boase describes the left hand image as Christ in limbo, and Kauffmann, following Swarzenski, takes a straightforward descriptive approach referring to it as "Christ defending the City of God against the devil."(101) In terms of traditional

iconography though the image is redolent of the Harrowing of Hell. It also has similarities with St Michael fighting the dragon, especially given the way the figure plunges the lance across his body into the devil at his feet. St Michael springs to mind too because of the juxtaposition of the image with the woman and child on the other side reminiscent of the opening verses of Revelation 12.(102) The female figure too is represented with visual references to the apocalyptic text. Rays shine from her face recalling that, in John's description, the Woman is *amicta sole*. She hovers in the air above her attackers in exactly the place assigned to the Woman in the later thirteenth-century English group of Apocalypses. Even the figure in the bed below is at home in the biblical text, recalling the passage: *Beati mortui, qui in Domino moriuntur (Rev 14:13)*.(103) That the apocalyptic references are implied, there can be no doubt. The image draws from this pictorial tradition, both in its own reliance on Revelation iconography and its demonstrated affiliation with the later trend of apocalyptic imagery in thirteenth-century English manuscripts. The image is appropriate too for Augustine's text with its description of the ideal City of God which may be compared with the Heavenly Jerusalem of Revelation.

However, other interpretations of the figures in the image appear to have been intended. St Peter, for instance, is also a candidate for the identity or identities of the male figure. Not only the distinctive hat, but also the status of Peter as intercessor,

especially in late Anglo-Saxon England, and his partnership with the Virgin in this role, already discussed in chapter three, would argue for this identity.(104) In an Old English version of a non-biblical Apocalypse, which was certainly in circulation in the eleventh century, Mary, Michael, and Peter plead for the damned souls at the Last Judgement, a contingent of whom are released as a result of their prayers.(105) In such an intepretation the female figure would represent the Virgin, saving the soul of a dying man from the devil and ensuring his progress to heaven.

A final gloss on this image must take in a more abstract view. In the discussion of another *Civitate Dei* manuscript in chapter four, which was also introduced with a picture containing a strong Marian element, the Virgin's role as a symbol of the Church and of the merciful face of the Divine was noted. This reading also applies to the Canterbury image. The composition of the Canterbury image is divided into two registers - a conventional scene of judgement above, and scenes of intercession represented by the Virgin and Peter fending off the devil below. The judgement/mercy theme is thereby apparent.(106) Further, Augustine's identity of the Church with the City of God, and the ecclesial intepretation of the Apocalyptic Woman and of the Virgin suggest that all three figures are represented in the woman who appears in the miniature. The specific intellectual milieu in which the manuscript was produced corroborates this interpretation. Marian writings produced at Canterbury in the twenty or thirty years

preceding the production of the manuscript include Anselm's Marian prayers and his *Admonitio Moriendi*. There was also Eadmer's treatise on the Virgin with its emphasis on her intercessory powers and his treatise on the Immaculate Conception.(107)

The image gives a rich nexus of meanings in which each nuance qualifies and shapes the others. What appears to be two intrepid saints fighting with devils whilst a passive figure sits isolated and detached above, can also be seen as representing some episodes from John the Divine's Apocalypse. In addition the picture deals with the saving of individual souls through the intercession of saints, the just and merciful aspects of divine governance, and is a commentary on the work of the church militant on earth and the church triumphant in heaven. The image can be absorbed on any or all these levels.

VII THE MARIAN APOCALYPSE

Eadmer's treatise on the Immaculate Conception includes a request to the Virgin to free him from hell should he be condemned to it by the Judge, her Son.(108) The phrase is reminiscent of another aspect of the literature concerned with Mary and hell which occasionally finds its echo in the visual arts. This is based on the early apocryphal apocalypses of which an Old English version has already been cited. Of these, the Apocalypse of Paul, probably dating from the mid third century and written in Greek, was the most influential in terms of its effect on the

development of later medieval ideas about sufferings in hell. The text, for instance, describes serpents encircling women and devouring them, important in the development of the iconography of *Luxuria*, and good and bad angels hovering around the deathbed, a commonplace in medieval images of individual death. It also refers to intercession for the damned.(109) Through his intercessionary prayers, Paul wins a concession of one day a week's respite from their sufferings. Another Greek Apocalypse dating from somewhere between the sixth and the ninth centuries, and one of a group of texts known as the Apocalypse of the Virgin is closely based on the account attributed to Paul. In this, St Michael leads Mary through hell where she witnesses the torments of the damned and, out of pity, asks for mercy for them with the support of St Michael and other Saints. Going one better than Paul she wins fifty days respite annually for them from Easter to Pentecost. A separate account attached to an Assumption narrative dating from the fifth century and surviving, amongst others, in an Irish manuscript, makes Christ the guide taking Mary, Michael, and the apostles on a tour of hell. Again, Mary wins some parole for those being tormented.(110)

Pictorial echoes of these ideas are late and apparently rare. One example survives in a fifteenth-century Spanish Book of Hours (Escorial. Vit. II. fol.8v). In the full page miniature the scene is set against a crude but recognisable landscape of the kind to be found in numerous Flemish panel paintings of the period.(fig.70)

The foreground features the open jaws of hell across the bottom of the frame in which naked souls stand looking hopefully upwards towards a hovering figure of the Virgin standing in a mandorla flanked by two adoring angels.(111) By this late date it must be assumed that the souls would be understood to be praying to the Virgin from Purgatory whereas the apocalyptic literature is too early to be so specific. Whilst some accounts might appear to indicate an early form of purgatory, others seem to refer to a plea for relief from permanent damnation in Hell.(112) Although Mary's power to alleviate the sufferings of souls in purgatory was a commonplace of late medieval devotion, this choice of iconography does approach the subject from an unusual angle in terms of who is calling for the Virgin's help and when. In prayers, her help is usually invoked for the devotee himself or herself for when they die, or on behalf of someone else. Saints in heaven are called upon to add their voice to the plea for leniency in the sentence to purgatorial suffering. Here, however, the souls themselves already in the midst of their sentence are calling out to the Virgin. This way of conveying Mary's intercessory power is reminiscent of that literature which describes her witnessing of the suffering of the damned and their appeal to her for help. It also echoes the sentiments of the Vespers psalm, *De Profundis*, of which a Marian variation was in existence by the thirteenth century.(113)

Another aspect of this iconography upon which it is tempting to speculate, risking that the detail under

scrutiny is simply a second rate artist's nod to contemporary fashion, is the setting in which the hell-mouth is so incongrouously placed. A convincing three-dimensional landscape is quite usual in paintings, miniature and large-scale, at this period, but in these Hell, if it appears, is usually depicted as a lurid void, quite separate to the background common to the rest of the composition. This image shows the mouth of purgatory rigidly locking its captors between its jaws, but just beyond this prison is a bucolic landscape conveying, but not so expertly, the pastoral delights of a Limbourg illumination. It is, however, not Paradise, and the picture begs the question of where and when in human experience was purgatory thought to exist. It is certainly tied up with imaginings about the afterlife, but many of the exempla which deal with Mary's intercessory powers with regard to purgatory take place in dreams, after which the dreamer returns to life and mends his or her ways. Further, many invocations to the Virgin in prayers and lyrics call on her aid against sin and the fiend and other threats to human happiness here and now. It might then be suggested that there was a consciousness of being locked into suffering in this life as a result of one's own sin. Such an image would neatly sum up such an idea and the potential relief which the Virgin might bring.

The eleventh-century Winchester drawing of the so-called 'Quinity' is a famous, though apparently unique,

composition in which again the Virgin's victory over hell is indicated (London, BL, Cotton ms. Titus D. XXVII fol.75v).(fig.71) Mary here however plays a subordinate role. Her presence can almost entirely be explained in order to express a Christological point to refute an heretical teaching represented by its spokesman, Arius, who cowers next to the hell-mouth below. The drawing, which accompanies the office for the Holy Trinity in a miscellaneous manuscript of offices, prayers and other texts, shows God the Father and God the Son holding books and seated on a rainbow, the feet of one of them resting on a devilish creature. Next to these two figures, the crowned Virgin stands holding Christ, again with a book, in her arms and with the dove of the Holy Spirit resting on her head.(114) All these figures are surrounded by a circular frame. The beast beneath the feet hovers on the bottom edge of the circle and Arius and Judas are prostrate below flanking the mouth of hell.

The presence of Arius who denied the nature of Christ as both human and divine doubtless explains this unusual composition.(115) The Son appears twice in the 'Quinity', in his glorified form and as Christ incarnate in the Virgin's arms. The identity of God the Father and God the Son is conveyed by both figures being cross-nimbused, and the dual nature of Christ is communicated by the presence of His human mother and by the reference to the Incarnation in the shape of the Holy Spirit hovering above her head. That this is the Word made flesh is suggested by the book in the Child's hand. This artful and concise

summation of teaching on the Trinity is sufficient to condemn Arius' heresy to Hell.

The Virgin's role in this tightly argued composition is clearly essential. Her presence overturns Arius' arguments and more generally it overturns evil too. She is crowned, and the theological implication of her status as Queen of Heaven is, as the Winchester 'Quinity' shows, that she also has dominion over hell. This early image aniticipates a theme which became more evident later in the Middle Ages in which the sequence of the story of salvation with its medieval Marian codicil leads straight from Adam's sin in unerring logical steps to Mary's coronation in heaven, so symbolising the *felix culpa* of the Easter *Exsultet* referred to at the beginning of this chapter. On the way hell is conquered and the Virgin as Mother of God has a crucial role in its overthrow. That this was understood at a popular level in the late Middle Ages is born out by lyrics such as the fifteenth-century *Adam lay Ibounden* which includes the lines :

Ne hadde the appil take ben, the appil take ben
Ne hadde never our Lady a ben hevene qwen. (116)

The carol, *Owt of Your Slepe*, praises the Virgin's role at the Incarnation so that *Now man may to hevene wende*. Significantly the single title with which she is honoured in this lyric is *Empresse of Hell*.(117)

The Winchester 'Quinity' and the late medieval lyrics just quoted exemplify one of the two main themes analysed in this chapter which has examined the iconographic

contexts in which the Virgin's power over hell was celebrated. Her part in the Incarnation is the inspiration for Marian epithets and images such as those concerned with light conquering darkness and those derived from the Marian interpretation of references in Genesis. The other theme is connected with her intercessory powers which also can be understood in the light of thwarting the ambitions of Satan. Her general powers in this area are particularly stressed in imagery connected with Revelation 12, the Theophilus legend and with Apocalyptic literature.

Her intercessory powers on the part of a specific individual, when symbolised by her confronting Satan or his representatives, are, for the most part, consigned to miracle literature and its illustrations. A modern cartoonist could well convey the drama of the Virgin's encounters with the devil in this context, from her cheating wiles (118) and her interrogation of demons over the power of their arguments (119), to her unwillingness even to engage in debate with demons on account of their inferiority.(120) Yet a tradition also existed from the era of the *Transitus* legends of the Virgin's own fear of the fiend when it came to the scene of the preparation for her own death. A fourteenth-century English description of the event describes her reaction to the news from Gabriel like this:

Also, I beseke my sone I se not the fende
What tyme outh of this word I shal passe hens
His horible lok wold fere me so hende;
Ther is nothyng I dowte but his dredfull presens.(121)

The words suggest a distinction in the late Middle Ages between the Virgin conscious of herself simply as a mortal woman, as the passage just quoted indicates, and as a figure perceived as the representative of an essential aspect of the christian divinity because of her role as the mother of Christ. The Virgin as a representative figure has been the focus of this and the preceding chapters. In the next chapter the thesis will be put to the test. The iconography of the personification of *Misericordia* which, it has been claimed, is that part of the divinity represented by Mary, will be studied to see to what extent it is related to that of the Virgin.

CHAPTER SIX

ENDNOTES

1. 'De Laudibus Beatae Mariae Virginis' in *Opera Alberti Magni*, ed., Borgnet (Paris, 1896) 36, p.348. See chapter 3, n.71.

2. For example, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*,, ed., H.N. MacCracken, 2 vols, *EETS* ES 107 (1911) I, p.284.

3. For example, 'A Prayer to the Blessed Virgin' in *The Wheatley Manuscript*, ed., M. Day, *EETS* OS 155 (1921) pp 6-15.

4. For example, 'Owt of your slepe' in *Oxford Book of Late Medieval Verse and Prose*, ed., D. Gray (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985) p.163.

5. For example ' A Salutacion to ore lady' in *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript*, eds., C. Horstmann ahd F.J.Furnivall, 2 vols, *EETS* 98 (1892) 1, pp 121-131.

6. 'In Laudibus Virginis Matris', IV, in *Sancta Bernardi Opera*, eds., J.Leclercq and H. Rochais, 8 vols, Editiones Cisterciensis (Rome: Editiones Cisterciences, 1957-77) 4 (1966), p.46.

7. Lydgate (1911) I, p.261.

8. 'Owt of your slepe'.

9. For example, see *Religious Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century*, ed., C. Brown (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939) p.64 and *Vernon Manuscript* (1892) I, p.125. The convention of giving the Virgin a triple crown as, for example, in a fifteenth-century wall-painting of the Assumption in Exeter Cathedral may have been suggested by this trio of titles, although it also mirrors the triple crown conventionally given to depictions of God the Father in the fifteenth century. For Tristram's drawing of the Exeter painting see VAM E 3387-1931.

10. *Attulit tibi caeli principatum per gloriam, regnum mundi per misericordiam, inferni subiagationem per potentiam*. Amadée de Lausanne, *Huit Homelies Mariales*, ed., G. Bavaud (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1960) p.174.

11. For example, Brown (1939) p.44. In a later lyric (p.54) she is addressed only as Empress of heaven.

12. *Vernon Manuscript* (1892) I, p.122. This title has Anglo-Saxon origins. For example, see the section on the Nativity in the 'Advent Lyrics' in *The Exeter Book*, ed. & trans., I. Gollancz, *EETS* OS 104 (1895) pp 18-19 where she is celebrated as the lady of

middle earth and the purest woman on earth. Here, therefore, her high status amongst human women appears to be the reason behind the epithet.

13. *Bridget of Sweden, Liber Celestis*, ed., R. Ellis , 2 vols, EETS 291 (1987) I, p.27

14. Wheatley Manuscript (1921) p.101, n.4.

15. *PG* 77, col 1034.

16. The name Lucifer appears in Isaiah 14:12. It was interpreted by the Fathers as referring to Satan before his fall. See *The Dictionary of the Bible*, 5 vols (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1909) 3, p.159.

17. *PL* 88, col 281.

18. Bavaud (1960) p.210.

19. For example, Herman of Runa, *Sermones Festivales*, eds.,E. Mikkers et al., *CC* 64 (1986) Sermon 104, p.485, lines 34-35.

20. For example, in the fourteenth-century *Encomium Beatae Mariae* by the Franciscan, Gualter Wiburn (*AH* 50, p.636).

21 For example, in a lyric attributed to Peter Damian, *AH* 58, p. 57.

22. This term appears in the Marian hymn, *Ave Maris Stella*. See O'Carroll, p.379.

23. For example, in a hymn attributed to Adam of St Victor. *The Liturgical Poetry of Adam of St Victor*, ed., D.S. Wrangham, 3 vols (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1881) 3, p.222.

24. Quoted in H. Barré, *Prières Anciennes de l'Occident a la Mère du Sauveur* (Paris: Letheilleux, 1963) p.253.

25. M.Q.Smith, 'Medieval chandaliers in Britain and their symbolism', *Connoisseur Magazine*, 190 (1975), pp 266-71. The epithet, *candelabrum*, can be found in Venantius Fortunatus (*PL* 88, col 281).

26. E.Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting, its Origin and Character*, 2 vols (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1958) 1, p.146 n.4.

27. *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, eds., J. Lutz, P. Perdrizet and P. Mulhausen, 2 vols (Mulhouse: Meininger, 1907-9) I, p.23.

28. The prayer from Monte Cassino is quoted in Barre (1963) p.254; for the *Mariale* of Adam of Perseigne see *PL* 211, col 699; Adam of St Victor's hymn

appears in *Liturgical Poetry of Adam of St Victor* (1881) 3, p.134; it can be found as a sequence for the Mary Mass in *Breviarum Ad Usus Insignis Ecclesiae*, eds., F. Proctor & C. Wordsworth, 3 vols (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1879) 2, col 519. Another hymn attributed to Adam of St Victor praises the Virgin in these terms: *Ardens lucens es lucerna,/ Per te nobis lux superna/ Suum fudit radium.* (*AH* 54, p.325). A similar sentiment occurs in a twelfth-century manuscript of a Marian Litany. See *Les Litanies de la Sainte Vierge*, ed., Le R.P. Angelo de Santi, trans., l'Abbe A. Boudinhon (Paris: Letheilleux, 1900) p.112.

29. The term appears in the Vernon manuscript and in Mirk's *Festiall*, both of which date from the late fourteenth century.

30. *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*, ed., B.J. Muir, 2 vols (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1994) I, pp. 58-61.

31. M. Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon Studies 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) pp 198-199.

32. For the fervency of Marian devotion at Winchester in the late Anglo-Saxon period see Clayton (1990) pp 50-51 and Barre (1963) pp 129-143.

33. *Opera Omnia Anselmi*, ed., F.S. Schmitt, 6 vols (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd.,1946-61) 3 (1946) pp 18-25. For the popularity of Anselm's Marian prayers see chapter 1, n.47 & Barre (1963) p.288.

34. *Inferna penetrant, caelos superant*, Schmitt (1946) 21, p.21

35. *PL* 159, cols 337-340.

36. *The Liturgical Poetry of Adam of St Victor* (1881) 2, p.230. The hymn which includes the line first appears as a hymn for the Purification of the Virgin in a thirteenth-century manuscript. *AH* 54, p.309.

37. For example, *Mirk's Festiall*. ed., T. Erbe *EETS* ES 96 (1905) p.297.

38. For example in *The Early English Carols*, ed., R.L.Greene (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935) nos. 177, 207, & 225 - all dating from the fifteenth century.

39. For example, Brown (1939) pp. 44, 47, 52, 54 & 64. See also Lydgate (1911) I, pp 261 & 284, *Vernon Manuscript* (1892) I pp 125 & 135, & *Wheatley Manuscript* (1921) p.6.

40. For example, *The Book of the Craft of Dying*, ed., F.M.M. Comper (New York: Arno Press, 1977) p.148.

41. For example, *The N. Town Play*, ed., S. Spector, EETS SS (1991) p.123, lines 334-335.

42. *Liber Festivalis*, Rouen, 1499. Cited in D.Rock, *The Church of Our Fathers*, eds., G.W. Hart & W.H.Frere, 4 vols (London: John Murray, 1905) 3, p.237

43. For this ancient Easter sequence see *The New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, 17 vols (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1967-1979) 5 (1967) pp.765-766.

44. See Graef (1985) pp 1-3. A colourful Marian reading of Genesis 3:15 is given in the fourth century by the Spanish poet, Prudentius: *Edere namque Deum merita/ Omnia Virgo venena domat:/ Tractibus anguis inexplicitis/ Virgo inerme piger removit/Gramine concolor in viridi* (*PL* 59, col 807). Bernard uses the image in the *'In signum magnum'* sermon. *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, eds., J. Leclercq & H. Rochais, 8 vols (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957-1977) 5 (1968) p.265.

45. O'Carroll, p.371.

46. For the development of the iconography of the Immaculate Conception see M. d'Ancona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception in the Middle Ages and early Renaissance* (New York: College Art Association of America in conjunction with the Art Bulletin, 1957).

47. *The Liturgical Poetry of Adam of St Victor* (1881) 2, p.230.

48. *Vernon Manuscript* (1892) I, p.377

49. See the drawing by Le Noir reproduced in W. Sauerlander, *Gothic Sculpture in France, 1140-1270*, trans., J. Sondheimer, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1972) p.454.

50. For an antique example see A. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art from early Christian times to the thirteenth century*, trans., Alan J. P. Crick (London: Warburg Institute,1939; repr. New York: Norton, 1964) Pl. VII.

51. For example, St George/Constantine types on twelfth-century tympana at Damerham, (Wilts), Brinsop, (Herefords), and Parthenay-le Vieux, (Haut-Poitou); St Michael on an early-ninth-century ivory now in Leipzig (Museum des Kunsthandwerks). Repro.in D. Gaborit-Chopin, *Les Ivoires du Moyen Age* (Fribourg: Office du Livre, 1978) p.50; a Christ treading the

Beasts appears on the eighth-century Genoels-Elderen ivory diptych (Brussels, Musées Royaux d'art et d'Histoire) Repro. in ex. cat. *The Making of Britain*, eds., L. Webster & J. Backhouse (London: British Museum Press, 1991) p.181.

52. For example, the effigies of twelfth-century bishops of Salisbury now in the south nave aisle of Salisbury Cathedral.

53. U.Chevalier, *Poésie Liturgique*,(Tournai: Desclee, Lefebvre, 1894), p.133.

54. 'High Empress and Queen Celestial', lines 33-37, in Brown (1939) p.26. Identifying beasts underfoot is confused for the modern observer by the lack of correspondence between contemporary and medieval terminology for creatures such as serpents and dragons. In modern understanding dragons have wings and legs and serpents do not. The distinction was not so clear in the Middle Ages. Eve and Moses, for instance, associated in the Vulgate with serpents are frequently depicted with what would now be described as dragons. The interchangeable nature of the terms 'dragon' and 'serpent' is made clear in the medieval bestiary. See T.H. White, *The Book of Beasts*, 2nd ed.(London: Alan Sutton,1984) pp 159-67. This is a translation from an illustrated twelfth-century manuscript (Cambridge University Library MS II.4.26). Despite describing the serpent as a creature without legs, and a dragon as a very large serpent, the accompanying illustrations of dragons and other members of the serpent family, show them with wings and two legs.

55. See chapter 2, part II, for the Virgin and Child treading the beasts of psalm 90.

56. For example in a mid-eleventh-century psalter possibly from Winchester (BL, Cotton Tiberius C.VI, fol.72.) See E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900-1066*, *SMIBI* 2 (1976) no.98, pl. 297.

57. Temple (1976) no.84, p.100. See also T.H. Ohlgrem, *Insular Manuscripts and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts: An Iconographic Catalogue c.625-1100* (New York: Garland, 1986) p.207.

58. It appears, for example, in the twelfth century as a Marian epithet in the writings of Bernard of Clairvaux, Adam of Perseigne, and Hugh of St Victor. (*CETEDOC*). See also *AH* 54, p.328 for its appearance in a twelfth-century lyric on the Assumption. In late medieval literature Lydgate describes the Virgin as the "fructifying olyve" in 'Ballade at the Reverence of our Lady' (*The Minor Poems of John Lydgate* (1911) I, p.256).

59. *Et sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur, ita et in Christo omnes vivificantur.*

60. Homily VII. Bavaud (1960) pp 188-189.

61. Graef, pp 37, 39 & 40.

62. Gregory of Nyssa in the fourth century is an early writer who comments on the contrast between Eve's painful and Mary's painless child-bearing (Graef, p.67), so calling the scene of the Nativity to mind. Hermann of Tournai (d. after 1147) applied the phrase from Genesis 2:18 refering to Eve,(*faciamus ei adjutorium simile sibi*) to the Virgin (*PL* 180, col 36). He says that as Eve was the spouse of Adam, so Mary was the spouse of Christ. The visual image which expresses this paricular Eve/Mary comparison is the Coronation of the Virgin, the iconography of which became established in the twelfth century. See also Godfey of Admont (*PL* 174, col 770). For a passage which appears to exhaust all Mary/Eve parallels see reading for the Office of the Virgin in the season after the Purification in Sarum Breviary. Procter & Wordsworth (1879), 3, cols.305-306. For the iconography of the Virgin as the Second Eve see E. Guldan, *Eva-Maria: Eine antithese als Bildmotiv* (Graz-Cologne, 1966).

63. O'Carroll p.379. The hymn appears in the Sarum Breviary for the Feast of the Annunciation (Proctor and Wordsworth (1879) 3, col.233. Another hymn with an Eve/Mary comparison is also sung during this office, *O gloriosa femina* (col.245).

64. R. Woolf, *The English Lyric in the Middle Ages*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p.130. *Minor Poems of John Lydgate* (1911) I, p.301, v.10.

65. *Minor Poems of John Lydgate* (1911) I, p.261, v.5.

66. For example, the temptation of Eve is visually related to the Annunciation miniature in a late-fifteenth-century French Book of Hours, now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (W.233, fol.25). Similarly, the Fall is related to the Nativity in a late-fifteenth-century Book of Hours from Rome (W.187, fol 25v). See *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, ed., L.M.C. Randall, 3 vols (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1984) 2, nos 131 & 164.

67. See J. Pope-Hennessy, *Fra Angelico*, 2nd ed., (London: Phaidon, 1974) p.194, fig. 10.

68. Sauerlander (1972) pp.496-7. At Chartres the thirteenth-century north-east portal includes a jamb depicting the Virgin Annunciate treading down a beast. See A. Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral: Christ, Mary,*

Ecclesia (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1959) pl.54. The Annunciation is visually linked to the Fall in a group of thirteenth-century Limoges croziers in which the New Testament scene is placed inside the volute of the crosier which is formed like a serpent. See exhib. cat. *L'Oeuvre de Limoges*, eds., E. Taburet-Delahaye & B. Drake-Boehm (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1995) no.81.

69. The south-west portal trumeau at Amiens (1220-30) and the central trumeau on the west portal at Rheims (1245-55). See Sauerlander (1972) pls.168 & 189.

70. D. Grivot & G. Zarnecki, *Gislebertus, Sculptor of Autun*, new ed. (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1985) p.149. The serpent has a woman's head in the depiction of the Fall in the mid-thirteenth century sculptured frieze in Salisbury Cathedral chapter house. For a literary source see Peter Comestor (d. c.1179) *Historia Scholastica*, *PL* 198, col 1072B.

71. For example, Michelangelo's serpent has a female head on the Sistine Chapel ceiling painted in the early sixteenth century.

72. *Man of Law's Tale*, lines 360-361

73. *Feci pecchato perche passione soferse: fino a che questa reghina sorte nel ventre a nostro redentione*

74. A. Ladis, 'Immortal Queen and Mortal Bride: the Marian imagery of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's cycle at Montesiepi', *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 119 (1992) 189-200.

75. G. Rowley, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958) I p.64.

76. Rowley (1958) p.64, n.3.The painting by the Master of the Straus Madonna is reproduced in R. Fremantle, *Florentine Gothic Painters*, (London: Secker & Warburg, 1975) p.309, pl. 633.

77. The history of the inclusion of this phrase in the Athanasian creed is discussed in *Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique*, 27 vols (Paris: Librairie le Touzey et ane, 1931-1972) I (1931) part 2, cols 1663-4.

78. J.K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) pp 164-169 & 185-204.

79. See chapter 5, n.49

80. Bavaud (1960) pp 214-215.

81. O'Carroll (p.341) cites a number of medieval authors who use this miracle account to exemplify the power of the Virgin's intercession.

82. The same sort of visual interplay between an image related to general salvation and one related to individual salvation appears in one of the Beatus initials of the twelfth-century Winchester Bible (Winchester Cathedral Library. fol.218). This also involves the Harrowing of Hell, which is represented alongside Christ healing the man possessed by a demon. The mirroring iconography stresses the parallels between these two stories.

83. Sauerlander (1972) pl.186. The cross with a long shaft like the one Mary carries on the Paris tympanum is an ancient attribute of the Virgin and appears in an early medieval example of her crushing the serpent beneath her feet. See P. Skubiszewski, 'Les Imponderables de la recherche iconographique. A propos d'un livre recent de la glorification de l'Eglise et de la Vierge dans l'art medieval', *CCM* 30 (1987) 145-153 (p.152). A fourteenth-century *miniature in a manuscript of the Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, shows the Virgin standing on a devil and thrusting what appears to be a long rod with a sponge on the end into his mouth. She is crowned and holds Instruments of the Passion as well as being flanked by them. The action here is comparable with the Theophilus examples, and the inscription points to the Virgin's general powers over evil - *Maria Superatrix dystolum (sic) hostem nostrum*. The visual reference to the Passion, however, emphasises the Virgin's incarnational rather than her intercessory role. Algermissen, col. 1182. see also col. 1184.

84. A.C. Fryer, 'Theophilus the Penitent as represented in art', *Archaeological Journal* 92 (1936) 287-333. M.W. Cothren, 'The Iconography of the Theophilus Windows in the first half of the thirteenth century', *Speculum* 59 (1984) 308-341.

85. The story is attached to the entry for the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin in the *Legenda Aurea*. *For De Coincy see. For Ruteboeuf see Le Miracle de Theophile*, trans., J. Dufourmet (Paris: Flammarion, 1987)

86. Clayton (1990), pp71-2. It is later incorporated into the Sarum Use. Proctor & Wordsworth (1879), 2, cols.309 & 517. In homiletics, an early example appears in a sermon by Fulbert of Chartres (d.1028) in which, after recounting the story of Theophilus, he hails the Virgin as the one *quo possimus recuperare et habere perpetuam gratiam filii tui Jesu Christi Domini nostri*,.. (*PL* 141, cols 323-4). With reference to the 'Empress of Hell' epithet, he addresses the Virgin in the same passage as, *venerabilis et imperiosa*. A reference to the

Theophilus legend appears also in a twelfth-century Marian litany (De Santi (1900) p.109). For some examples in hymns see *AH* 48 p.80 (eleventh century), p.264 (thirteenth century); 54 p.337 (eleventh century).

87. See chapter 1, part II.

88. Clayton (1990) pp 77-78.

89. Cothren (1984) p.311

90. See Meyer Schapiro, *Medieval Studies in Memory of Kingsley Porter*, 2 vols (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1939) 2, pp 359-388.

91. Although the story of Theophilus in the Lambeth Apocalypse referred to in chapter 3 does include an important image, iconographically, of the Virgin interceding to Christ.

92. Comper (1977) p.148.

93. For a description of and bibliography for the *Ars Moriendi* see P. Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996) pp 41-43 & 215.

94. See Woolf (1968) pp 119-22 for this and other examples.

95. O'Carroll, p.375. See also Guy Lobrichon, 'La Femme d'Apocalypse 12 dans l'Occident latin (760-1200)' in *Marie: Le Culte de la Vierge dans la Societe Medievale*, eds., D. Iogna-Prat, E. Palazzo, & D. Russo (Paris: Beauchesne, 1996) pp 407-440.

96. See chapter 4, n.61

97. See n. 46 above. For a fourteenth-century visual example of Mary as the Apocalyptic Woman see BL, ms Royal 6. E. VI. fol.479. (L.F. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, 1285-1385, 2 vols, *SMIBI* 5 (1986) 2, no. 124.

98 For the Spanish Beatus manuscripts see C.R. Dodwell, *The Pictorial Arts of the West, 800-1200* (New Haven & London : Yale University Press, 1993) pp 244-254.

99. N.J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts, 1190-1285*, 2 vols, *SMIBI* 4 (1987) 2, pp 206-207.

100. For bibliography see C.M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts, 1066-1190*, *SMIBI* 3 (1975) no.54

101. T.S.R. Boase, *English Art 1100-1216*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953) p.46; H. Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art: The Church Treasures of Northern Europe*, 2nd edn. (London: Faber & Faber,

1967), fig. 291; Kauffmann (1975) p.187. Kauffman draws attention to the sources for this image in German Apocalyptic iconography, for example, Bod, Bodley ms 352, fols 8v & 9.

102. P.E. Klein identifies the figure as St Michael. See P.E. Klein, 'The Apocalypse in Medieval Art' in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, eds., R.K. Emmerson & B. McGinn (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1992) p.174.

103. For a list of thirteenth-century Apocalypses which illustrate this verse see N.Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts 1190-1285, SMIBI* 4, 2 vols (1987) 2, p.209

104. See chapter 3, n.9

105. Clayton (1990), pp. 253-4. See also *The Apocryphal New Testament*, ed., M.R. James, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924) p.562.

106. A scheme of decoration for another twelfth-century Canterbury *Civitate Dei* manuscript dwells particularly on the judgement theme. Of four miniatures which illuminate the manuscript now in Florence (Biblioteca Laurenziana, ms Pluto XII.17), two deal with the theme of judgement and one (fol.1v) features angels weighing souls in scales. Repr.in Swarzenski (1967), pl. 87, fig. 201. For a discussion of illuminated manuscripts of the *Civitate Dei* see A. Laborde, *Les Manuscrits a peintures de la Cite de Dieu de Saint Augustin* (Paris: E. Rahir, 1909).

107. For Anselm's prayers and Eadmer's *Liber de Excellantia Virginis Maria* see chapter 1, part IV. His *Tractatus de Conceptione Sanctae Mariae* is edited by H. Thurston & Th. Slater (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1904).

108. Thurston & Slater (1904) pp 35-36.

109. James (1924) pp 532 & 542-546. See also Elliott, (1993) p. 616.

110. *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, eds., D.N.Freedman *et al*, 6 vols, (New York: Doubleday, 1992) 6, pp. 854-856

111. Repr. in J.Dominguez Bordona, *Spanish Illumination*, new ed. (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1969) Pl.145, A.

112. See Clayton (1990) pp 253-256. Aelfric's objection to the Old English apocalypse was that it implied that the Virgin or any saint could intervene to save souls at the Last Judgement. Paul's Apocalypse, however, refers to unrighteous souls being punished until the Day of Judgement. Elliott (1993) p.626.

113. *AH* 54, p.275. This Franciscan hymn is addressed to Christ but calls for the Virgin's intercession on the part of the dead. She is twice addressed as *Imperatrix* in the text.

114. An Anglo-Saxon example which compares with the Virgin of the'Winchester Quinity' appears in an illuminated initial in a manuscript of Boethius *De Musicae* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Library I i.3.12, fol 6v) from Christ Church, Canterbury. The female figure, who may also be intepreted as *Ecclesia*, has no child on her lap but, instead, carries a disc inscribed with the *Agnus Dei*. She sits next to Christ and stretched beneath both their feet is a monster.

115. For Arianism see *The New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, I (1967) pp 791-794.

116. Gray (1985) p.161. The sense of the Coronation of the Virgin as the cumulation of the story of Salvation is reflected in the conventional appearance of the scene as the accompanying miniature in many illuminated books of hours for Compline, the final office of the day. See J. Backhouse, *Books of Hours* (London: The British Library, 1985) p.36.

117. Gray (1985) p.163.

118. H.P.J.M. Ahsmann, *Le Culte de la Sainte Vierge et la Litterature Francaise Profane du Moyen Age* (Utrecht: N.V. Dekker & Van de Veght en J.W. van Leewen, 1930) p.137.

119. *Liber Celestis* (1987) I, p.26.

120. John of Garland, *Stella Maris*, ed., E.F. Wilson (Cambridge, Mass: Medieval Academy of America, 1946) pp 178-180.

121. *The N.Town Play*, ed., S. Spector, *EETS* SS 11 (1991) p.393. The episode is inspired by similar episodes in the earliest *Transitus* legends. See Elliott (1993) p.709.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MISERICORDIA AND MARY AS *MISERICORDIA*

Maria - Omnipotens et misericors Deus in mea potestate tradidit facere omnes misericordias suas. Idcirco enim mater misericordiae vocor. Nam ipsa sancta atque individua Trinitas totam me fecit eleemosynarium suam, quia omnes eleemosynae indulgentarium et gratiarum de throno beatissimae Trinitatis transeunt per manus meas.(1)

This chapter is concerned with the allegorical figure of Mercy in literature and the visual arts and the extent to which the Virgin came to be identified with this virtue in medieval understanding.

I THE MEANING OF *MISERICORDIA* FOR THE MIDDLE AGES

In modern parlance, the term, 'mercy' has connotations of forgiveness, compassion, even indulgence. In the Middle Ages, *misericordia* may imply pity, compassion, or pardon.(2) In Old Testament Hebrew the words which came to be translated into the Greek *eleos* and the Latin *misericordia* refer on the one hand to compassion, but on the other to a more contractual relationship which might be summed up as duty, commitment or keeping faith with.(3) The latter gives sharper definition to the former. Mercy works within certain boundaries. The operation of divine justice can be understood to be closely interwoven with this concept of mercy, since justice is based on the maintenance of this merciful contract. If it is kept, blessing will follow, if not, vengeance. It is a concept which is put into the mouth of the Virgin herself in one of her rare biblical utterances:

Et misericordia eius a progenie in progenies timentibus eum.(Luke 1:50)

Misericordia therefore has no very specific meaning. For the Middle ages it was at least a generic term which included a group of 'soft' virtues, but it also sometimes still retained shadowy connotations of the tougher aspects of the Old Testament understanding of God's mercy. For Peter Lombard *Pietas* and *Misericordia* were synonymous.(4) For Rupert of Deutz *Pax* and *Misericordia* could be equated.(5) In the visual arts of the Romanesque period personifications of *Misericordia* may hold a token common to *Spes*, *Concordia*, *Temperantia*, *Pax*, *Caritas*, *Humilitas* and *Castitas*.(6) For Sedulius Scottus and the Cistercian, Herman of Runa a more contractual note is struck in their claim that penitence is the mother of mercy, therefore implying a process whereby a breakdown of faith leading to penitence results in the generation of divine mercy.(7)

Another means of moving closer towards an understanding of a meaning of the term for the medieval period is to consider that art and literature which concerns personified virtues in conflict with their opposite vices. This genre of literature opens with Prudentius' *Psychomacchia* of the fifth century and culminates in the twelfth-century *Hortus Deliciarum*, by Herrad of Landesburg, and the thirteenth-century *Somme le Roi*. The idea of representing virtues and vices in opposition spawned a large family of visual images based on the same idea. Amongst the vices which are opposed to *Misericordia* in visual examples taken from the late eleventh century to the thirteenth century are *Avaritia*

(8), *Invidia* (9) and *Impietas*.(10) Some literary classifications of vices and virtues well known during this period show these same vices opposed by other virtues. In the *Psychomacchia Avaritia* is overcome by *Operatio*.(11) In the *Hortus Deliciarum Avaritia* confronts *Largitas*, and in the *Somme le Roi, the same vice* is opposed to the gift virtue *Consilium*. In the same work *Invidia* is opposed to *Pietas*.(12) These pairings suggest *Misericordia* was tinged with connotations of good works, wise deliberation, and kindness.

II *MISERICORDIA* AS A HUMAN VIRTUE

The term *Misericordia* is not prominent in the medieval classifications of virtues. It is not one of the classical cardinal virtues, nor does it appear amongst St Paul's so-called 'theological' virtues, though, as has been shown, *Misericordia* embraces notions of *Spes* and *Caritas*. It is not listed amongst the gift virtues of Isaiah 11:2-3, which do however include *Pietas* and *Consilium*. Similarly it does not appear on the Psychomacchian battlefield, though *Pax* and *Spes* do. *Misericordia* is, however, named in the classification of charitable actions, ultimately deriving from the Beatitudes, which came to be known as the Works of Mercy. The use of the term here illustrates the link of meaning between mercy and good works implied in Prudentius. In the visual arts personifications of *Misericordia* bestowing charity appear from the ninth century, whilst she appears with six allegorical figures

of good works in Herrad of Landsberg, which are expanded to seven in number on the thirteenth-century font at Hildesheim.(13)

III *MISERICORDIA* AS A DIVINE VIRTUE

One Biblical source which does refer explicitly to *Misericordia*, and which is important in terms of its influence on the connection between Marian devotion and the concept of mercy is a verse from psalm 85 which features four personified virtues:

Misericordia et veritas obviaverunt sibi: iustitia et pax osculatae sunt (v.10).

The spirit of reconciliation conveyed in this verse lies behind the inclusion of the psalm in the office of matins at Christmas. The psalm as a whole demonstrates the complementary notions of divine justice and mercy and significantly includes a passage which prefigures the words from the *Magnificat* quoted above:

Verumtamen prope timentes eum salutare ipsius:..(v.9).

This psalm exemplifies a wide area of biblical literature in which *Misericordia* takes a prominent place. *Misericordia* is a major attribute of divinity, sometimes found in conjunction with virtues such as *Pax* and *Spes*. *Justitia* is a contrasting attribute, sometimes connected with *Veritas*.(14) A study of *Misericordia* as a human virtue as it appears in the various classified lists

known to the Middle Ages referred to above is helpful in reaching an understanding of what the term meant in the medieval period. However,it is because mercy was seen as a divine virtue that eventually, and especially from the twelfth century onwards, the Virgin became so strongly associated with *Misericordia*.

IV VIRTUES OF DIVINITY IN TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ICONOGRAPHY

For St Bernard justice and mercy are the two feet of God. (15) Peter Lombard in his *Libri Sententiarum* sees mercy and justice brought together in all divine works.(16) These cardinal virtues of the divine are mirrored sometimes in visual images representing aspirations for good leadership of earthly institutions. The twelfth-century Gospel Book of John II Komnenos (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urbin. Gr.2, fol.13v) includes a page depicting the Emperor and his son crowned by Christ who is flanked by *Misericordia* and *Justitia*.(17) An inscription invokes the bestowal of these virtues on earthly rulers. The same qualities are seen to provide a model for good spiritual leadership. An abbot is surrounded by figures representing wisdom, prudence, mercy and justice.(18) In a written text of the mid twelfth century *Ecclesia* herself appears between Justice and Mercy who are described as holding scales and a sword for one, and a jar of oil for the other.(19)

When images of the Godhead are shown with allegorical

figures of virtues there is a tendency to associate God in majesty with those 'tough' virtues which keep company with Justice. The so-called 'tableau' of St Remacle which was produced in the Meuse valley but is now destroyed, depicted a majesty surrounded by the four Ciceronian cardinal virtues - *Prudentia, Temperantia, Fortitudo* and *Iustitia*.(20) On the other hand, Christ suffering on the cross, tends to be linked with the 'soft' virtues amongst which Mercy appears. St Bernard in a sermon on the Passion links the death on the cross with *Patientia, Humilitas, Caritas, Oboedentia, Misericordia* and *Sapientia*.(21) In a similar vein Alan of Lille, also in a sermon, talks of *Misericordia* fixing the Son of God to the gibbet

..misericordia, quae filium Dei...affixit patibulo.(22)

This curious metaphor anticipates its visual equivalent which begins to emerge in the thirteenth century showing virtues nailing Christ to the cross.(23)

However, for the most part, God in majesty and God incarnate represented fused into one being or closely juxtaposed in romanesque representations. This is effected simply through the majesty wearing a cross-nimbus, or by His being surrounded by the Instruments of the Passion. In these cases references to divine mercy and justice may appear together. An example from the early twelfth century which shows the diagrammatic tendency of romanesque art, especially when a complex notion is being conveyed, appears on the carved tympanum at Jaca (Huesca) in

northern Spain. This early-twelfth-century sculpture appears on the west portal of the cathedral. The sacred monogram representing the Trinity is depicted as a wheel and forms the central part of the composition. It is flanked by two lions. To the monogram's right the lion protects a human figure beneath him who is struggling with a serpent. Opposite, the other lion tramples a bear and a basilisk beneath his feet. An enigmatic inscription, whilst stressing the unified nature of God, suggests that the first lion should be interpreted as Christ protecting the penitent sinner, and the second as the victor over death, or evil.(24)

Here the protecting lion is placed to God's right, as the Virgin is in the *Deisis* group, and as the lily of mercy is positioned in late medieval iconography. The lion uses his body to shelter the figure below, a posture associated with the mercy of God as discussed above in Chapter 4. It has its Marian equivalent in the image of the Virgin of Mercy. The connection between *Poenitencia* and *Misericordia* is manifest here in the representation of the figure under the lion's protection struggling with the serpent of evil. It is a graphic portrayal of the parameters of divine mercy, which is shown to 'them that fear Him'.(25)

A group of Holy Cross reliquaries dating from the second half of the twelfth century represent visual programmes which link divine mercy and justice with the Passion. All were made in the Meuse valley within the cultural orbit of Liège, the 'Athens of the North' as it

was described by contemporaries. The iconography, which sets out to show how mercy and justice define each other in the scheme of judgement, reflects this intellectual hothouse in the richness of its references.(26) The reliquaries are all small triptychs which house the relic behind a small opening in the central panel.(27) The relic is flanked by two angels who hold and/or are surrounded by instruments of the Passion. In each case a gable surmounts the central panel depicting a Majesty.

The iconography makes explicit visual reference to *Misericordia* who is represented as an angelic personification. In the Liège example, which is perhaps the earliest of the group it appears, picked out in champleve enamel, directly above the cross-shaped relic cavity.(fig.72)(28) The flanking angels surrounded by instruments of the Passion are identified by inscriptions reading *Veritas* and *Iudicium*. The London example, which is the latest in date of the three, shows *Misericordia* above to the relic's right and *Iustitia* to its left. Both personifications this time are enamelled.(29)

The iconography appears to be drawn from three scriptural sources. The cross appearing below the Majesty is the *signum Filii hominis* which heralds the Second Coming as described in Matthew 24. The virtues framing the cross echo a verse from psalm 89:

Iustitia et iudicium preparatio sedis tuae.
Misericordia et veritas praecedent faciem tuam (v14)

The cross is the empty throne, the *etimasia*, awaiting Christ's Second Coming (Ps 9:7). A throne surmounted by

instruments of the Passion is a common element in Byzantine Last Judgement iconography of this period.(30) The Greek influence on this group of reliquaries has been noted before.(31) Schiller has suggested that the cabuchon covering the relics of SS Vincent and John the Baptist on the Liege example might be a later insertion, obscuring possibly a throne or altar representing the *etimasia*.(32) However, the reference to psalm 89 and the clearly triumphalist representation of the relic in this context might indicate that, in these examples, the cross itself represents the throne of the Judge.

The decorative treatment of the Liège *Misericordia* and its position above the right arm of the cross in the London example perhaps indicate its precedence over *Iustitia* in terms of divine virtues. The position of the cross beneath the Majesty recalls the recurring medieval invocation for mercy to come before judgement.(33) The fruits of divine mercy activated by the Crucifixion are also stressed in the iconography. The triumph over death is represented at the base of the Liège reliquary with the resurrection of the Saints referred to in Matthew 27:52. The London example shows the Resurrection of Christ in the same position flanking two small images of the Crucifixion, one engraved in a Carolingian crystal and the other, below this, embossed in metal.(34)

The composition as a whole, however, in both examples is such that divine justice and mercy are to be understood as inextricably linked in the judgemental scheme. The symmetrical placing of the two personifications in London

suggest this in a simple way. The more complex arrangement at Liège, which seems to be closely influenced by Psalm 89:14, associates *Veritas* and *Iudicium* with the instruments of the Passion. The attributes which identify God as merciful therefore and which represent an essential step in the development of the image of the Last Judgement with intercessors, are here also linked with human sin against God which truth and impartial judgement will not overlook.(35) The necessary harnessing of the two virtues is stressed by Bernard of Clairvaux in a key sermon for the interpretation of Justice and Mercy in the context of the visual arts of the romanesque period. The first sermon on the Annunciation which takes the passage about the virtues from psalm 85 as its text makes the claim:

Est enim in his quattuor salutis integritas, nec sine his omnibus potest constare salus, praesertim cum nec possint esse virtutes, si ab invicem separentur.(36)

The third in this group of gabled 'True Cross' reliquaries is the example in New York.(fig.73) It makes the Matthean references still more explicit. The figure on the gable is labelled *filius hominis*, and angels blow trumpets on the wings waking the dead to the general resurrection. Again *Veritas* and *Iudicium* flank the relic cavity, holding the lance and the sponge . Below, a group of five virtues form a composition illustrating the working of judgement on the Last Day. A crowned, standing *Iustitia* dominates the group. She stands in the centre, holding scales in front of her. On either side are groups of people representing *Omnes Gentes* and on their behalf prayer, *Oratio* and alms-

giving, *Elemosina* intercede to *Iustitia*. Below *Elemosina*, *Misericordia* kneels supporting one of the scale pans in which what appear to be gold coins are placed.(37) Opposite her kneels *Pietas* supporting an empty scale pan. The scales, however, balance evenly, probably indicating that these virtues weigh evenly in the sight of God.

This image has been interpreted in the light of St Bernard's sermon referred to above, and Rupert of Deutz' tract, *De Trinitate*.(38) As a literary source the latter is more convincing in terms of the iconographic matching to the text, and Rupert of Deutz' close connection with Liege where the reliquary was made. A direct connection between this particular tract and the image cannot however be argued because there is not a sufficiently exact co-relation. It is significant, however, that the scales motif was familiar to scholarly circles in Liege at the time when the reliquary was made. From a reading of the iconography alone,it seems to show graphically how prayer and good works predispose divine justice to show mercy. This is suggested by showing these personifications as intercessors. The merciful attributes of God, thus activated, appear as *Misericordia* and *Pietas*, supporting the scales of justice to prevent condemnation.

This image is a clear prefiguration of the iconographic type discussed above in chapter five which shows the Virgin interfering with the scales of St Michael, and is helpful in further clarifying the meaning of that image for the Middle Ages and explaining what motivated its evolution.(39) The tendency of the gothic

era to humanise and make specific concepts which were handled in a more universalised and abstract manner in romanesque art is reflected in the transition from *Justitia* to St Michael. There can be no doubt about the identity of these two figures since they share the same attribute, and St Michael was already established as a weigher of souls in Last Judgement iconography by the twelfth century.(40) It is also evident in the replacement of the figures of *Misericordia* and *Pietas* by the Virgin Mary, and the generalised representation of good works in the scales of the twelfth-century example being replaced by the rosary and other specific references to good works in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.(41) The meaning conveyed in the Holy Cross reliquary composition can therefore be possibly transferred to the gothic versions. The Virgin represents the mercy which God will show to those that fear Him, evidenced by faithful acts such as prayer and alms-giving.

The divine attributes of mercy and justice are represented therefore in the above examples as belonging essentially together. In order to clarify their relationship with each other, justice tends to be associated with images of God in Majesty often in the context of the Second Coming, whilst mercy is linked with God incarnate especially, in the above examples, with the death on the cross. Moreover certain indications that the Virgin was seen as, or would be seen as, a representative of divine mercy are suggested by close parallels between the positioning or posture of symbols of mercy with those

of contemporary or later representations of the Virgin. *Misericordia* often appears to God's right, for example. At Jaca, the lion of mercy adopts a sheltering posture. In the Cloisters triptych, *Misericordia* interferes with the scales.

V MARIAN VIRTUES AND THE 'FOUR DAUGHTERS OF GOD'.

The Virgin, or, more often, the Virgin and Child, frequently appear with 'soft virtues'.(42) A twelfth-century enamelled panel now in Cleveland, Ohio, shows the latter surrounded by *Humilitas, Virginitas, Pietas* and *Misericordia*.(43) On a thirteenth-century missal cover *Humilitas* and *Virginitas* feature in their company.(44) The Virgin alone is accompanied by the theological virtues on the shrine of Charlemagne.(45) In a thirteenth-century painting in the nun's choir of the Cathedral at Gurk she is directly flanked by *Caritas* and *Castitas*. A group of six personifications which represent her virtuous state and transitions of mood described in Luke 1 also appear in the composition.(46)

The identity of Mary with this type of virtue was not, in the romanesque period at least, a reflection of how the Virgin was perceived as an individual personality, but was connected with the nature of her integral role in the plan of human salvation. As the *Dei Genitrix* she was an essential instrument in the Incarnation, in itself the manifestation of divine mercy. Images which reflect the process of God made man such as the Annunciation,

Visitation, Nativity or simply the Virgin and Child underline the link between Mary and *Misericordia*. Rupert of Deutz makes explicit this connection in a passage reflecting on the nature of the Incarnation:

...Verbum Dei cum sementina substantia Virginei ventris obviaverit iuxta iilud quod jam dictum est: 'Misericordia et veritas obviaverunt sibi.(47)

Rupert's quotation from psalm 85 once again brings this text into focus. It became in the twelfth century a key Old Testament type for the reconciliation of God and Man, through the exegetical writings of Hugh of St Victor (48), Rupert of Deutz (49) and Bernard of Clairvaux.(50) Hugh and Bernard particularly developed the allegorical approach of the text, creating a dispute between the four personified virtues which ultimately led to God appearing on earth as a man to atone for human sin. Bernard's version became the model for a spate of literature in the later Middle Ages which reproduced the drama of these virtues who came to be known as the Four Daughters of God.(51)

Visual representations of the Four Daughters of God, as in the literature, make their typological function clear, and therefore always appear in company with the Virgin Mary or in an image which came to be interpreted mariologically.(52) Late medieval examples, as might be expected, tend simply to be illustrations of a narrative, whilst the early examples are more exclusively symbolic.

A representation of the Tree of Jesse on a page from the Lambeth Bible (London, Lambeth Palace Library. ms 3,

fol.198) was painted within a generation of the twelfth-century writings referred to above and richly reflects the iconographic potential of the allegory.(fig.74)(53) The main image is appropriate for a prefatory miniature to the Book of Isaiah, whilst the Four Daughters of God are placed alongside disciples, prophets, and personifications of *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* around the Jesse Tree and further nuance its significance. The stem which grows up from the recumbent Jesse at the bottom of the page blends into the rigid figure of the Virgin, so visually playing on the *virga/virgo* pun beloved of the romanesque period. From the Virgin's head appears to continue the stem which then develops into a roundel containing a bust of Christ surrounded by the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit represented as doves. Thus Isaiah 11:1-2 is illustrated. There is, however, more. Between the Old Testament figure of King Jesse and the bust of Christ, the Virgin forms a visual link, reminiscent of other linking metaphors applied to her in the twelfth century such as 'neck' and 'aqueduct'.(54) She is not only a symbolic link according to her role in the interpretation of the Jesse Tree, she is also the actual link as the Virgin who shall bear a Son prophesied in Isaiah 7:14. Through her the Old Testament messianic prophecies are fulfilled, and so at her feet four prophets are shown pointing upwards towards her and her Son and holding their prophecies in their other hands.

The underlying theme of the Incarnation is further emphasised when this sacred 'diagram' is read laterally. The roundels placed on either side of the Virgin link into

each other and are connected with Mary who supports with her hands those containing *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*. The mystery of the Old Testament is resolved in the light of the New set in motion by the birth of Christ. A veil is lifted from *Synagoga's* face by a disembodied hand to show that God's purpose has now become clear.

The personified virtues appear below these roundels and are represented very specifically as they are described in psalm 85. *Justitia* and *Pax* embrace and *Misericordia* and *Veritas* stand close together looking at each other as if they have just met. The commentaries on this text referred to above and the psalm's place in the Christmas office link this image directly with the Incarnation. Bernard's sermon furthermore was written for the Feast of the Annunciation. Moreover, Bernard makes it clear in this writing that he interpreted *Veritas* and *Justitia* as virtues associated with the Old Testament divinity. *Veritas*, for example, insists that:

Totus moriartur Adam necesse est cum omnibus qui in eo erant, qua die vetitum pomum in praevaricatione gustavit. (55)

Misericordia and *Pax*, on the other hand, incite God to be merciful:

...si quidem non cessabat Pax, non ei misericordia dabat silentium, sed pio quodam susurrio paterna pulsantes viscera loquebatur.(56)

They are the virtues of the New Testament God and the

image Bernard summons up here anticipates the role of the

Virgin in intercessory imagery and literature.

The virtues also therefore, like *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* above, represent reconciliation of the Old and New dispensations through the Incarnation. Atonement is thereby made possible. The demands of justice are assuaged through divine mercy. The Virgin as the generator of this mercy is therefore to be closely identified with it. Moreover the actions of *Misericordia* and *Pax* at this, the First Coming of Christ, are identical with the intercessory role of the Virgin, as it was being developed in twelfth-century thinking, at the Second Coming.

The Incarnation is essential to the interpretation of the Lambeth Jesse Tree in order to make sense of the presence of the four virtues. Another line of investigation which enriches the iconography still further has been opened up by a recent commentator who dwells on the tree imagery, kaleidoscoping the Tree of Jesse with the Tree of Virtues, the Tree of Life and the crucifix. Mary, she suggests, hangs on the tree "in the image of the Crucified.(57) This reading further embroils the Virgin in the story of Salvation by apparently referring to the Virgin's essential suffering at the Passion in her role as co-redemptrix. A direct connection is also thereby made between the psalm 85 virtues and the Atonement itself.

The fulfilment of the Old Testament in the New represented in the Lambeth Tree by the crowned *Ecclesia* and the unveiling of *Synagoga*, can be found elsewhere in the company of the Four Virtues. A group of English twelfth-century typological schemes formerly in the

chapter house at Worcester, in the choir aisle windows at Canterbury, and on the Lady altar at Bury St Edmunds, now all destroyed, showed the virtues with the coronation of *Ecclesia* by Christ and the concomitant enlightenment of *Synagoga*.(58) Mary did not appear in these groupings, but the first half of the twelfth century saw the evolution of the scene of the Coronation of the Virgin out of the scene of the Coronation of *Ecclesia*.(59) At the same time exegetes were re-interpreting the Song of Songs, which was the biblical inspiration for this image, by replacing *Ecclesia* with Mary as the figure of the Sponsa. (60)

The Virgin was therefore already absorbing the persona of *Ecclesia* through the period when these images in paint and stained glass were being produced. The emerging consciousness of the identity of the two figures can be postulated through the existing tradition of connecting the figure of the Virgin with certain verses from the Song of Songs which dates from the patriarchal period.(61) Specific links can be seen in the appearance of the scene of *Ecclesia*'s coronation on the Lady Altar at Bury, and by the probability that Honorius of Autun, author of the *Sigillum Beatae Mariae*, one of the first Marian exegeses of the Song of Songs, spent some years at Canterbury only a generation previous to the creation of the aisle windows cited above.(62) Overall, this assimilation of *Ecclesia*'s role is another example of the move from abstract personification to specific personality which has been noted before as a feature of the later medieval mindset.

A thirteenth-century manuscript at Eton College (ms 177) shows a transitional phase in this development. It is thought to have been influenced, to some extent at least by the Worcester chapter house wall-paintings.(63) The typological part of this manuscript includes a page which shows *Ecclesia* crowned in a chariot with Christ, and surrounded by the psalm 85 virtues, the symbols of the four evangelists, and female personifications of Jew and Gentile supporting a cross with the head of Christ at the centre.(fol 7v)(fig.75) The reconciliation therefore of God with His people is represented by the pairings of Christ and *Ecclesia*, and personifications of mercy and truth, justice and peace, and Jew and Gentile.

The group of Old Testament types centring on the anti-type of the Crucifixion, however, shows a blurring of *Ecclesia* and the Virgin which may be a result of the increasing weakness of the tradition of placing *Ecclesia* in this position.(fol 5) The Eton Crucifixion shows the cross flanked, to Christ's left, by a winged seraphim holding a sword, and opposite, a female figure holding a chalice.(fig.76) *Ecclesia* holding a chalice, and standing in this position, had been a convention of Crucifixion images especially in Carolingian examples, and presumably appeared thus in the Worcester chapter house Crucifixion.(64) *Ecclesia* partnering a winged cherubim, but with no crucifixion, still survives on a twelfth-century font at Stanton Fitzwarren in Wiltshire.(65)

The Eton *'Ecclesia'*, however, is haloed and wears no crown, which makes this identity less convincing. Mary's

place to Christ's right in this scene was a standard element of Crucifixion iconography and more constant than *Ecclesia's* appearance in this position. Further, the Virgin was occasionally opposed to Michael, the archangel, on the other side of Christ when the latter was represented in majesty.(66) The Stanton Fitzwarren *Ecclesia* kills a serpent beneath her feet, indicated by an accompanying inscription. The previous chapter has shown how this iconographic detail was also associated with the Virgin. In the Eton manuscript therefore, *Ecclesia* still holds her place as the crowned *sponsa*, but appears to have ceded it to the Virgin in the Crucifixion scene, yielding at the same time her token of the chalice.

Ms 177 represents a moment in an iconographic process which has been traced more generally by Philippe Verdier and in which the coronation of *Ecclesia* is gradually, in the twelfth century, developed into the scene of the coronation of the Virgin.(67) This example shows the declining importance of *Ecclesia* as a personification and her function in the process of being absorbed by the Virgin Mary. In terms of the Marian significance of the psalm 85 virtues therefore, it can be seen that this development enriched the implications of scenes in which the Virgin appears with these allegorical figures. In this context she not only represents the Incarnation as implied by the occasion of Bernard's sermon and the liturgical use of this psalm, but she also represents another expression of reconciliation, as Mary/*Ecclesia*. It might therefore be expected that the Coronation of the Virgin sometimes

appears with the four virtues.(68) This however is rare, since the emergence of this scene coincided and was partly a result of an increasingly widespread espousal of the doctrine of Mary's Assumption. Given the late medieval tendency to opt for narrative rather than exclusively symbolic imagery, the Virgin's coronation in the later medieval period is most frequently depicted as the climax of the *Transitus* legend. (69)

For the same reason, where the psalm 85 virtues appear in late medieval representations, it is to illustrate the literature which rehearsed Bernard's drama of the Four Daughters of God. A fifteenth-century English alabaster (London, VAM. A58-1925) shows the Virgin turning from her reading, as she was conventionally represented in Annunciation iconography of the period, but she is not distracted by Gabriel, but by a baby Christ descending from God the Father in a mandorla.(fig.77) The third part of the Trinity also sits enthroned in heaven, whilst on either side of the composition four female personifications stand holding scrolls which identify them as the virtues of psalm 84. A detached scroll placed in the centre of the panel next to the Virgin draws its text from psalm 119:164 : *Misericordia tua domine plena est terra*.(70)

The composition graphically represents the point in the narrative where Bernard originally placed the drama of the Four Daughters of God - as a trigger for the Incarnation beginning with the scene of the Annunciation. The image is iconographically reminiscent of the latter

whilst making visually explicit the importance of the Virgin's role in the plan of Salvation. The analogy between Mary's womb being filled with the Word made flesh and the earth being filled with God's mercy is made obvious in the choice and placing of the main text.

Like most other English alabaster panels, the question of the original context of this piece, making the assumption that it was once part of an altarpiece of at least five panels, is a tantalising one. It is a rare survival, but comparison with contemporary images in other media may give a guide regarding its original appearance. Some fragments of glass dating from the 1490s in the east window of Tattershall church in Lincolnshire, for instance, include visual references to the Virgin and Child, three of the four daughters of God, the Acts of Mercy, the Seven Sacraments, and a number of saints. However this was originally arranged, it appears to have made up a series of didactic schemes including a commentary on the operation of mercy, both human and divine.(71) On the other hand, a direct reflection of contemporary narrative drama appears in the Wharncliffe Hours of the 1470s (Melbourne. National Gallery of Victoria. ms Felton 1 (1072-3) 1920. fol.15). On the Matins page the Annunciation is placed below a representation of the Trinity flanked by the psalm 85 virtues and with Gabriel kneeling before them. The scene appears to be taken from the early-fifteenth-century play, the *Proces de Paradis* in which the Virtues plead to the Trinity to send Gabriel to announce the Incarnation.(72)

The iconography of the Four Daughters of God from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, whether represented symbolically or as narrative, is therefore rooted in twelfth-century commentaries on the verse from psalm 85 which saw it as an anticipation of the reconciliation of God and humankind by means of the Incarnation. In the writings of Hugh of St Victor and especially St Bernard, *Justitia* and *Veritas* represent the status quo and *Misericodia* and *Pax* are the agitators who persuade God to inaugurate this new plan for Salvation in which the Virgin takes an essential role. In this context therefore it is as *Dei Genetrix* that Mary represents the revelation of divine *m*ercy. This mercy is also shown through the triumph of the new dispensation represented by the coronation of *Ecclesia*, a personification often and increasingly embodied by the Virgin herself.

VI THE SHARED ATTRIBUTES OF *MISERICORDIA* AND MARY.

To a limited, but significant extent, the identification between *Misericordia* and the Virgin can be traced in the attributes they share as identifying tokens. Whilst *Iustitia* almost invariably carries scales, there is unfortunately no similar consistency in the attributes of *Misericordia*. Sometimes she holds nothing at all or she may carry tokens which elswhere are held by the family of 'soft' virtues to which she belongs.(73) Of the latter there are two which mainly appear with *Misericordia*: the palm (74), and the vessel.(75) The palm is frequently

found as a general attribute held by a group of virtues.(76) The vessel, when it appears on its own, seems to be more exclusive to *Misericordia*, though two vessels representing wine and water, or a vessel and a torch were the usual tokens of *Temperantia*, and *Caritas* frequently holds a loaf and a vessel representing charitable giving. (77)

These examples taken from between the late eleventh and early thirteenth centuries may be compared with some attributes associated with the Virgin at the same period. Since she so frequently appears holding Christ in her arms, the Virgin does not often hold attributes as such. However, such examples that survive show her holding the same tokens as *Misericordia*. She holds a palm in an Assumption image in an eleventh-century sacramentary from Mont St Michel (New York,Pierpont Morgan Library. ms 641. fol.143).(78) In a mid-twelfth-century Limoges *chasse* at Bellac she holds a palm.(79) A similar piece from Champagnat is decorated on one face by a majesty flanked by two figures inscribed Maria and Martial. The figure to the Majesty's right can be identified with the Virgin Mary and she holds a palm and a vessel.(fig.78)(80)

The particular association of this latter token with *Misericordia* may originate in an image used in Paul's letter to the Romans (9:22-23) which describes the wrath and the mercy of God in terms of the *vasa misericordiae* and the *vasa irae*. The passage received much attention from patriarchal and medieval commentators, but does not appear to have been related to Marian themes.(81) Given

the abundance of container images applied to the Virgin it is perhaps surprising that *vas misericordiae* did not become a common Marian epithet. Describing Mary as a vessel did frequently occur. The *vas honorabile* and *vas insigne devotionis* appear in the medieval Marian litany.(82) Jung saw fit to comment upon the ubiquity of this metaphor in a Marian context in terms of its unconscious significance.(83) She is, however, not described as a vessel of mercy nor is the vessel honoured as containing mercy, although occasionally the notion is suggested. A Marian psalter, for instance, attributed to Albert the Great describes the Virgin as the *vas mundicie* which contains the ointment which will leaven human wretchedness.(84) She is hailed as *vas clementiae* in a fifteenth-century manuscript of a lyric which may originate from earlier in the Middle Ages.(85) The more common epithets relating Mary to *Misericordia* are active, bringing forth images such as *fons* and *mater* in which the container idea is retained but the independence of container and contents is made clear.

As a visual token of Mary the vessel is rare. If, in language Mary is the vessel, this can only be expressed visually as Mary holding the vessel as an attribute. However, such was the ubiquity of the verbal metaphor that it may be assumed that the epithet was crucial in informing contemporary understanding of the group of late medieval Marian images centred on the *ostentatio* of the breast in which Mary displays her breast either to the Christ child or to her glorified Son in majesty. In this

case the vessel has become the breast. The token has elided as it were into the Virgin's anatomy.

By the thirteenth century, commentators referred to Mary nourishing humankind with the milk of mercy, whilst writers of miracle accounts developed stories of devotees cured by being fed with the Virgin's milk.(86) The body of literature in which the Song of Songs was given a Marian interpretation reinforced the metaphor of the milk of mercy. Richard of St Victor, in the twelfth century, uses the image of the milk of mercy as an essentially mediating metaphor:

> *Carnalia in te Christus ubera suxit, ut per te nobis spiritualia fluerunt. Cum enim misericordiam lactasti, ab eadem misericordiae ubera accepti.*

Denys the Carthusian, in the fifteenth century, in his commentary on the Canticle, describes the Virgin's breasts as her mercy with which she brings consolation.(87) By c.1400, the visual image of Mary suckling Christ was described by contemporaries as *Mater Misericordiae*.(88) This vessel image is employed in a significantly different way to those cited earlier. Here, the Virgin is not the vessel of mercy, in other words the vessel of Christ, but her breast contains the milk of mercy of which the source is apparently Mary herself. Whilst theologians elaborated on the motif to explain how it represented the Virgin as a mediator of divine mercy, as an image in popular literature and as a visual image it conveys her more as an independent figure of mercy.

Iconographically, if the Virgin herself, carrying

Christ, is seen as the vessel, the sign and the signifier become one. On the other hand, in exploring the relationship between the attributes of *Misericordia* and those of Mary, Christ may be seen as a Marian token. It has been argued in an earlier chapter that Mary may be understood as a symbolic representation, a token, of Christ's humanity. Conversely, and given the tendency towards mirroring, which seems to have had such a formative influence on the nature of medieval devotion, Christ may be seen as a reminder of Mary's role in the operation of divine mercy.

Whilst surviving visual examples do not seem to yield *Misericordia* holding Christ as a token, there are representations of *Spes, Fides, Humilitas* and *Concordia* in varying contexts holding the cross as an attribute, such 'soft' virtues with which *Misericordia* was associated.(89) A very graphic account of the virtues in literature, however, does show *Misericordia* holding Christ as her token. The *Liber Scivias*, a book of visions by the twelfth-century abbess Hildegard of Bingen contains a detailed description of a group of virtues who make up a part of the living architecture of the City of God. The third vision contains a comprehensive account of *Misericordia* who wears a white veil worn in the manner of a woman (*more mulierbri*) and a purple mantle.(90) On her breast is an image of Christ with an inscription round the edge reading:

Per viscera misericordiae Dei nostri, in quibus visitavi nos oriens ex alto. (Luke 1:78) (91)

The veiled woman bearing the picture of Christ is redolent of the ancient Byzantine type of the Virgin known as the Virgin *Blacherniotissa* or *Platytera* if standing or *Nicopoia* if sitting, and which occasionally appears in western art especially in the romanesque period.(92)

Other aspects of Hildegard's description also underline the connection with Mary. She stresses, for example, that *Misericordia* is dressed as a woman. She describes the woman's veil covering her head and parallels that image with that of *Misericordia* trampling down the death of the soul. As a woman is sweeter than a man, so mercy, Hildegard claims, is sweeter than sin. *Misericordia* is dressed as a woman too because Christ was dressed in the flesh of Mary. Here Hildegard uses a typical container image underlining the Virgin's association with divine mercy through her role in the Incarnation.(93) She talks of *Misericordia* sheltering lost souls under her veil amd stretching out her arm to the poor, the distressed, and the lost.(94) This image is reminiscent of the later iconography of the Virgin of Mercy. Explicitly, at the end of the passage describing *Misericordia*, Hildegard closely associates the Virgin with this virtue:

... hoc est quod in pectus misericordiae inclinavi eumdem Filium meum, dum eum misi in uterum Mariae Virginis.(95)

The passage closes by referring to the Son of God as Mercy, but in her description of *Misericordia* Hildegard has made the Virgin's inextricable link with this manifestation of divine mercy clear.

VII MATER MISERICORDIAE

The passivity of a container image like a vessel has already been contrasted with the activity of a bringing forth image like a fountain. It has been observed too that the potential independence of what is brought forth from its source is more apparent in this type of imagery than in container imagery. In other words water springing from a fountain becomes independent of the fountain, whereas water contained in a vessel does not. The image of the mother should however be qualified in this light. Because she is a crucially active figure upon whom the survival of the child utterly depends,the independence beween her and the child is not so clear-cut. As such it is difficult to employ the maternal image whilst maintaining the independence of the mercy of God from the mercy of the mother.

The title *Mater Misericordiae* is found at an early date in Syrian writing. It did not, however, become established in the Latin world before the tenth century. (96) In the eleventh century it became enshrined in the prayer, the *Salve Regina*, and from the twelfth century became a standard invocation in the Marian litany.(97) Did this epithet emerge as a means of clarifying the position of the Virgin in relation to divine mercy? Some earlier writers had been less precise in their praise of Mary's merciful disposition. From the eighth century some prayers address the Virgin using the superlative *misericordissima*.(98) The earliest version of the *Salve*

Regina saluted Mary as *Regina Misericordiae*. The change to *Salve Regina, Mater Misericordiae* may have been prompted by the need to define the appellation more closely.(99)

However, if the term appears to describe the Virgin as the mother of the manifestation of divine mercy, it also draws attention to the Virgin's integral role in that manifestation. Eleventh and twelfth-century writers used the term both to celebrate the Incarnation and the Virgin's merciful disposition towards humankind. Peter Damian, in a sermon on the Nativity of the Virgin, describes her as *ipsius pietatis et misericordiae mater*.(100) Fulbert of Chartres, on the other hand, uses a similar invocation, but in a different context. In a sermon for the same feast, he introduces his account of the story of Theophilus, one of the most standard *exempla* revealing the Virgin's powers of intercession, by invoking the *Mater Misericordiae*.(101) Bernard of Clairvaux, who was partial to the term, tends to employ it when he is discussing Mary's role as an advocate in heaven.(102). In one instance he sets out the complex idea of Mary as both the Mother of Mercy and the Mother of the Judge, and that for this reason she is a powerful intercessor. The source of her power and influence is twofold - as mother of the Judge and as the source of Mercy.(103) Elsewhere, he makes the point more succinctly, describing the Virgin as both merciful and the Mother of Mercy (*misericors est et mater misericordiae*).(104)

These theological developments did not immediately bring forth an explicit iconography of the *Mater*

Misericordiae, but it must be asssumed that the ubiquity of the concept informed the intepretation of Marian imagery, especially that depicting the Virgin and Child and that representing Mary as intercessor, from the twelfth century onwards. If, in the later Middle Ages, popular piety appeared to tend towards an understanding of the merciful mother operating independently of her just Son, then this understanding can be seen as an over-simplification of the ideas developed in the twelfth century.(105) There the inextricable link between the mother and *misericordia* was established in the premise that the manifestation of divine mercy was absolutely dependent on the *Fiat* of the Virgin.

Increasingly from the thirteenth century, mercy became the domain of the Virgin, or the incarnate, Suffering son, thus splitting the integrity of mercy and justice which was so tightly harnessed in the Marian theology described above.(106) The author of the *Speculum Laicorum* writing in the fourteenth century goes further by acknowledging a mercy of the Virgin and attempting to distinguish between that and the mercy of God. He claims that the mercy of God is the mediator of divine justice whilst that of the Virgin includes purging us from blame, freeing us from punishment, and bringing us to a place of light and glory. He does not recommend a hierarchy of mercy, but he does appear to be advocating two types of divine mercy.(107)

Mercy therefore had a number of connotations in the Middle Ages, but as a divine virtue it was understood to

express a characteristic of God which operated in an essential relationship with justice. It became associated with the Virgin because of her role as the vehicle of divine mercy through the Incarnation. The latter, marking the reconciliation between God and His creation, was expressed by Bernard and others as the resolution of a debate between the Four daughters of God in which *Misericordia* was instrumental in bringing about this means of redemption. The popularity of this drama created a link between the Virgin as an essential element in the proposed plan and *Misericordia* who had agitated for it. The representation of the psalm 85 virtues with the Coronation of *Ecclesia* further enriched the Marian connection since it occurred during a period when the personification of *Ecclesia* was being absorbed and humanised in the person of the Virgin. Evidence of the alignment between *Misericordia* and Mary can be seen in certain visual and literary descriptions of the two in which parallels can be discerned. These developments of the twelfth century were worked out against a theological background in which Mary was frequently described as *Mater Misericordiae*. The ambiguity of this epithet meant that it was used to refer to the Virgin both as the merciful advocate for humankind and as the mother of the mercy of God. Whilst these two notions tended to remain closely associated in twelfth-century writing, they appeared to gradually split in the later Middle Ages.

Misericordia herself lived on in such popular literature as the dramas of the Four Daughters of God and

the *Pèlerinage de l'ame*.(108) She also appeared as an iconographic figure in the fifteenth century carrying the lily of mercy of the Judge.(109) The role she had played in twelfth-century art and literature as a means of demonstrating a facet of the divine, however, had now been subsumed and humanised in the figure of the Virgin. In this passage from Langland's *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, the merciful contract expressed in the *Magnificat* quoted at the beginning of this chapter is recognisable, but involves a quite different *dramatis personae*.

'Yis!' quod Piers the Plowman, and poked hem alle to goode,
'Mercy is a maiden there, hath myght over hem alle;
And she is sib to alle synfulle, and hire sone also,
And thorugh the help of hem two - hope thow noon other -
Thow myght gete grace there - so thow go bityme'. (110)

CHAPTER SEVEN

ENDNOTES

1. 'Dialogus Mariae et Peccatoris', *Opera Omnia Dionysii Cartusiani, 42 vols* (Tournai, 1896-1913) vol 42 (1913), p.639.

2. *Novum Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis*, eds., Franz Blatt *et al* (Aarhuis: Munksgaard, 1957-1969) M-N (1959-69) col 608-13.

3. *Vocabulaire de Théologie Biblique*, eds., Xavier Léon-Dufour *et al* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1962), pp 520-523 & pp 626-631.

4. Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae*, 2 vols (Rome: Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad claros aquos, 1981) 2, Bk 4, dist.46, ch.3, para 1, line 1.

5. Rupert of Deutz, *PL* 169, 187

6. See notes 81-85 below.

7. Sedulius Scottus, *Collectaneum Miscellaneum: De Poenitencia;* Herman of Runa: *Sermones Festivales.* No.38. CETEDOC

8. For example, in a manuscript made at Moissac in the late eleventh century, an illuminated text entitled *Conflictus Virtutum et Vitiorum* (BN, ms.lat. 2077) which largely corresponds to an early-ninth century tract by Halitgarius of Cambrai (*PL* 105, 651 ff.) See Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art from early Christian times to the thirteenth century*, trans., Alan.J.P. Crick (London: Warburg Institute, 1939; repr. New York: Norton, 1964) pp 11-13.

9. For example, on two English twelfth-century fonts at Stanton Fitzwarren, Wiltshire and Southrop, Gloucestershire. See G. Zarnecki, *Later English Romanesque Sculpture 1140-1210* (London: Tiranti, 1953) pp 43, 47, 61-2, pls. 97&98.

10. For example, on the English made Troyes Casket of c.1170 (Troyes, Cathédrale de Troyes). See exhib. cat. *English Romanesque Art 1066-1200* (London: Arts Council, 1984) no. 283.

11. *The Works of Clemens Aurelius Prudentius*, trans., H.J. Thomson, 2 vols (London: Loeb Classical Library, 1949) lines 573-603.

12. See *Hortus Deliciarum of Herrad of Hohenbourg*, eds. R. Green, M. Evans et al, 2 vols (London: Warburg Institute, 1979) pl.117, fig.280 (fol.203) and, for the *Somme le Roi*, Jennifer O'Reilly, *Studies in the*

Iconography of the Virtues and Vices (New York: Garland, 1988) p.46.

13. *Hortus Deliciarum* (1979) pl.119, fig. 284 (fol.204). For the Hildesheim font see Robert Favreau, 'Les inscriptions des fonts baptismaux d'Hildesheim. Bapteme et quarternite' *CCM*, 38 (1995) 114-140 (pp.136-7)

14. The juxtaposition of justice and mercy or justice and truth as divine attributes can be seen, for example, in Pss 57, 61, 89, 101, & 115, and in Romans 9:23.

15. *Duo sunt pedes Dei, misericordia et iudicium. Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed., J. Leclercq & H. Rochais, 8 vols (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957-1977) 6 (1970) p.337.

16. Peter Lombard, *Sententiae* in IV Libris Distinctae, 2 vols (Rome: Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad claros aquos, 1981) 2, Bk 4. Dist.46, ch. 1.

17. See exhib. cat., *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era 843-1261* (New York: Metroploitan Museum of Art, 1997) no.144, p.209.

18. Codex Aureus St Emmeran. Late tenth century. Munich, Bayerische Staatbibliothek Cod. lat. 14000 (Cim. 55) fol.1). See Katznellenbogen (1964) pl. XX, fig. 36.

19. *Ludus de Antichristo. PL* 213, col.949.

20. Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, *Émaux du Moyen Âge* (Fribourg: Office du Livre, 1972), no.83. The front cover of the Notker Evangeliary (Liege, Musee Curtius) consists of an early-eleventh-century ivory panel of the Majesty in a twelfth-century enamelled frame depicting the four cardinal virtues.

21. *Leclercq & Rochais 5 (1968) pp 56-67.*

22. *PL* 1210, col.224.

23. For examples see Schiller 2, figs 448, 450-2, 454.

24. The inscription reads: *PARCERE STERNENTI LEO SCIT, CHRISTUMQUE PETENTI. IMPERIUM MORTIS CONCULCANS ET LEO FORTIS. HAC IN SCULPTURA LECTOR SIC NOSCERE CURA P. PATER A. GENITUS DUPLEX EST SPIRITUS ALMUS SUNT TRES IURE QUIDEM DOMINUS SUNT UNUS ET IDEM.* See A.K. Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, 2 vols (Florence: Pantheon casa editrice, 1928), p.70; Pedro de Palol and Max Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1967) p.104 & fig 100.

25. Another romanesque portal which takes up the justice/mercy theme is the one at Moissac (c.1125) in which the story of Dives and Lazarus is set to the observer's left and the Incarnation narrative to the right as s/he moves through the porch prior to walking underneath the tympanum depicting the Apocalyptic judge. The composition clearly shows that the two sets of sculptures were intended to mirror each other. See Meyer Schapiro, *The Sculpture of Moissac* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985) pp 107-126.

26. H. Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art: The Church Treasures of Northern Europe*, 2nd edn, (London: Faber & Faber, 1967) p.31.

27. There are three in the group which closely relate to each other in terms of size, composition, and iconography: VAM (7947-1862); Liege, Musee d'art religieux et d'art mosan (from the church of Ste Croix); New York, on loan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art from the collection of Mr and Mrs A.B. Martin. See Gauthier (1972), no 93; Schiller, 2, pp 185-6 & fig 649; Philippe Verdier, 'Les staurothèques mosanes et leur iconographie du jugement dernier'. *CCM* 17 (1973) 97-121, & 199-213. Verdier places these three in a broad context making reference to Byzantine prototypes, related western pieces and fragments.

28. Lasko dates it to c1150. P.Lasko, *Ars Sacra*, 2nd edn (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1994), p.200.

29. Marion Campbell dates it to the last quarter of the twelfth century. M.Campbell, *Medieval Enamels* (London: HMSO, 1983) p.20. Verdier (1973) suggests that it might be as late as the second or third decade of the thirteenth century.

30. For example, on a twelfth-century Veneto-Byzantine ivory panel of the Last Judgement in London. (VAM A.24-1926). See also Verdier (1973) pp 108-109.

31. See Yvonne Hackenbroch, 'A Triptych in the style of Godefroi de Clair'. *Connoisseur* 134 (1954) 185-188. Verdier (1973) pp 97-100

32. Schiller, 2, p.185. An altar of the *etimasia* appears on a related *staurothèque* in Paris. (Petit Palais, collection Dutuit 1295). Verdier (1973) fig.6.

33. See chapter 4, n.38.

34. The Resurrection is also linked with divine mercy on a small triptych, Mosan in technique though perhaps originating in Cologne (Lasko (1994) pp 226-227) or north east France (Gauthier (1972) no. 97) which dates from c.1160 and is now in London (VAM, 4757-

58). The iconography centres on the crucifixion, but the triptych does not appear in its present state ever to have held a relic. A personification of *Caritas* appears directly above the image of the Resurrection, whilst the figure representing *Iustitia* appears below Christ's triumph over Satan in the scene of the Harrowing of Hell. The interlocking of zones like a Venn diagram, which is a feature of the object's design, links these two 'types' of divine mercy and judgement together and with the crucifixion itself.

35. See Chapter 3, sections I & II. For further comment on the significance of the Instruments of the Passion on the Liege reliquary, see Verdier (1973) p.115, n.109.

36. Leclercq & Rochais, 5 (1968) p.17. A visual means of showing the inextricability of divine justice and mercy is the depiction on two sides of the same object of these two facets of God. This can be found frequently in many varied contexts throughout the Middle Ages, and usually takes the form of the Virgin and Child representing mercy and a Majesty representing justice. For example on two sides of an English twelfth-century morse tau (VAM 371-1871) and on late medieval wayside crosses. See E. Waterton, *Pietas Mariana Britannica* (London: St Joseph Catholic Library, 1879) p.189

37. The gold coins are probably intended to represent good works. They appear in the scale pan in the *Psychostasis* depicted on the shrine of St Servatius at Maastricht. c.1160 with an inscription above reading *bona opera* . Repr. in Swarzenski (1967) fig.377 See J.J.M. Timmers, *De Kunst van het Maasland*. Maaslande Monogafien no.1 (Assen, 1971) p.421, n.29.

38. Hackenbroch (1954) p.185. Verdier (1973) interprets the triptych in the light of Rupert of Deutz' *De Trinitate*. *PL* 167, col.1612. Rupert was a monk at Liege before becoming abbot of Deutz.

39. See Chapter 5. Similarly the image of the scales on the St Servatius chasse shows *Misericordia* holding the scales on the side of the reliquary representing the Blessed and Veritas holding them on the side representing the damned. The composition as a whole is a commentary on the Works of Mercy.

40. Katzenellenbogen's examples indicate that the scales of *Iustitia* are the most exclusive and consistent of all the tokens held by personifications of the virtues and vices

41. Hugh of St Victor in a tract taking Ps 85:10 as its text (*Miscellanea*. *PL* 177, col 625) describes *Misericordia* as an intercessor urging God to

vindicate humankind in a way that echoes the representation of the Virgin in the same role: *Homo confessionem ad salutem ore proprio faciebat, et misericordia precibus suis Dominum ad iustificationem hominis compellebat.*

42. The Virgin also sometimes appears with the cardinal virtues when appropriate to the context. In the visual arts, for example, Virgin and Child are surrounded by the cardinal virtues on the late twelfth/early-thirteenth-century ceiling painting at St Michael's, Hildesheim in North Germany. See O. Demus, *Romanesque Mural Painting*, trans., M. Whittall (London: Thames & Hudson, 1970) pp. 614-615. In a sermon on the faith and virtues of the Virgin, Bernard of Clairvaux adopts the 'container' image of the Virgin as the house of Wisdom, four columns of which represent the cardinal virtues. In the same sermon he equates *humilitas* with *justitia* (Leclercq & Rochais, 6, part 1, pp 274-7). William of Malmesbury, also in the twelfth century, associated the four cardinal virtues with the Virgin (*De Quatuor Virtutibus*. *PL* 159, cols 579-584)

43. Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art. The Virgin and Child are framed by the inscription *S(an)c(t)a Maria. Mater D(omi)ni*

44. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library. See Katzenellenbogen (1964) p.50, n.1.

45. Aachen, Cathedral treasury. c.1189-1220. Gauthier (1972) no. 148.

46. See Demus (1970) pp 39, 634-635. pls 298-299. The other virtues which appear are *Solitudo, Verecundia, Prudentia, Virginitas, Humilitas*, and *Oboedentia*.

47. *De Glorificatione Trinitatis et Processu Sancti Spiriti*. *PL* 169, col 187.

48. *Annotationes in quosdam Psalmos David*. *PL* 177, cols 623-625.

49. *PL* 169, cols. 186-189.

50. 1st sermon *In Annuntiatione Dominica*, Leclercq & Rochais, 5 (1968) pp 15-29.

51. Hugh of St Victor's was the earliest christian version of this expanded allegory, probably dating from before 1120. Bernard of Clairvaux's version, however, seems to have been better known perhaps because it was part of a sermon, and because of the popularity of his Marian writings. Amongst the later medieval works which reproduce this drama are: Robert Grosseteste's *Chateau d'Amor* (*Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript*, eds., C. Horstmann & F.J. Furnivall, 2 vols, *EETS* 98 (1892) I, p. 368); the

Franciscan *Meditationes Vitae Christi* (*Meditations on the Life of Christ*, trans., I. Ragusa, eds., I. Ragusa & R, Green (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961) pp.6-9; the fifteenth-century morality play, *The Castle of Perseverance* (D. Bevington, *Medieval Drama* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1975) pp.799-900). See P.Perdrizet, *La Vierge de Misericorde: Etude d'un theme iconographique* (Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1908) p.116 for further examples.

52. For example, on the paintings formerly adorning the choir vault of Peterborough Cathedral and in the illustrations in an English psalter (Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale, ms. 593, fol. 10) which may have been influenced by the iconography of the Peterborough choir vault. Both examples date from the thirteenth century and show the Visitation represented with the personified virtues. This New Testament episode is particularly visually appropriate because both images represent the scene of a meeting. See M.R. James, 'On the paintings formerly in the choir at Peterborough', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 9, part 2 (1897) 178-194; L.F.Sandler, 'Peterborough Abbey and the Peterborough Psalter in Brussels', *JBAA*, 3rd ser. 33 (1970) 36-49.

53. See *English Romanesque Art* (1984) no.53.

54. See chapter 1, n.34.

55. Leclercq & Rochais, 5 (1968) p.24.

56. Leclercq & Rochais, 5 (1968) p.22.

57. O'Reilly (1988) pp 361-363. A similar idea is expressed in a late medieval iconographic motif which occurs from the fourteenth century, especially in German art. It shows a branch growing out of the Virgin and into a crucifix. For example, on a wing from the Buxheimer altarpiece of 1510. See Algermissen col 340.

58. Inscriptions apparently derived from these sources survive in later manuscripts. The Worcester chapter house inscriptions survive in a manuscript in Worcester Cathedral library entitled *Ieronimus super Psalterium et in fine quidam versus super biblia*. fol. 81; Oxford, Corpus Christi College ms.c.256 records the inscriptions on the Canterbury windows; London, College of Arms, Arundel XXX records the inscriptions on the Bury Lady altar. See Mrs Trenchard Cox, 'The Twelfth-Century Design Sources of the Worcester Cathedral Misericords', *Archaeologia* 97 (1959) 165-178 (pp165-9); Neil Stratford 'Three English romanesque enamelled ciboria', *Burlington Magazine* 126 (1984) 204-216 . Philippe Verdier, *Le Couronnement de la Vierge: Les*

origines d'un thème iconographique (Montréal: Institut d'Études médiévales, 1980) pp 32-35.

59. Verdier (1980).

60. See chapter 1, n.71

61. See O'Carroll, pp 327-328

62. Graef (1985) p.228. See also R. Southern, *St Anselm: a portrait in a landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) pp 376-381.

63. For Eton ms 177 see A. Henry, *The Eton Roundels* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1990): N. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts 1190-1285, SMIBI* 4, 2 vols (1987) 2, no.137. A series of pages feature Old Testament types grouped around a New Testament image. These pages are bound with an Apocalypse. Neil Stratford (1984) queries the Eton ms 177 pages as a "faithful reflection" of the Worcester chapter house paintings.

64. For example, Schiller, 2, figs 371-3

65. Repr.in Trenchard Cox (1959), Plate LVIII.

66. For example the altar frontal in the Palatine chapel, Aachen. c.1020 (Repr. in Lasko (1994) fig.180) and the portable altar from the former abbey of St Vitus, Monchen-Gladbach. c.1160 (Lasko (1994) fig. 308)

67. Verdier (1980)

68. The image of the Coronation of the Virgin in the manuscript belonging to Roger of Waltham discussed in chapter 2 accompanies Hugh of St Victor's commentary on psalm 85.

69. The Coronation is depicted as the climax of the story of the Death and Assumption of the Virgin in numerous sculpted portals of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For example, at Senlis, Chartres, Paris, and Noyon Cathedrals. In stained glass at Angers and Sienna Cathedrals.

70. See F. Cheetham, *English Medieval Alabasters*, (London: Phaidon, 1984) no.102. Reau (2, part 2, p.191) refers to a similar English alabaster now in St Michael's church, Bordeaux. Another way of presenting the psalm 85 virtues, other than as the Four Daughters of God, appears in some panels attributed to Martin Schongauer now in the Musee du Colmar. The composition makes the familiar link between the legend of the Unicorn from the Bestiary and the Virgin Birth. The hunted unicorn takes refuge in the Virgin's lap whilst being hunted by

Gabriel. He leads a pack of four hounds which are named after the four virtues.

71. See Richard Marks,'The Glazing of the Collegiate Chapel of the Holy Trinity, Tattershall, LINCS. A study of late-fifteenth-century glass painting workshops', *Archaeologia* 106 (1979) 133-156.

72. Judith Pearce, 'Liturgy and Image: The Advent Miniature in the Salisbury Breviary', in *Medieval Texts and Images. Studies of Manuscripts from the Middle Ages*, eds., M.M. Manion and B.J.Muir (New York: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1991) 25-42 (pp 25-27) & fig.12.

73. For example on Nicholas of Verdun's 'retable' in Klosterneuberg and on his Shrine of the Three Kings in Cologne Cathedral. Katzenellenbogen (1964) pp 46-47.

74. For example, BN, ms. lat. 2077. fol.170. See Katzenellenbogen (1964) p.13.

75. For example, *Misericordia* is described as carrying oil in the *Ludus de Antichristo* c.1150. *PL* 213, col. 949. In the depictions of the four daughters of God in the Lambeth Bible (see n.52) and the Peterborough Psalter (see n.51) *Misericordia* carries a vessel.

76. See Katzenellenbogen (1964) pp 31 & 52.

77. See Katzenellenbogen (1964) pp 48, 49, 56 & 76.

78. She also holds a palm and a cross in the New Minster *Liber Vitae* and the New Minster charter, both discussed in chapter 3, part I.

79. See exhib. cat. *L'Oeuvre de Limoges: Émaux limousins du Moyen Âge*, eds., E. Taburet-Delahaye & B. Drake Boehm (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1995) no. 9.

80. The Champagnat chasse is in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. See *L'Oeuvre de Limoges* (1995) no.10. Gauthier (*Émaux Meridionaux: Catalogue international de l'oeuvre de Limoges. I. L'époque Romane* (Paris: Editions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1987) pp122-3) identifies the female figure as Mary Magdalene, arguing that her cult was closely associated with that of St Martial. However, the precedence given to Mary on the Champagnat chasse and the absence of any reference to 'Magdalen' in the inscription would suggest that the Virgin Mary is the one represented. This is the conclusion reached by the contributor to the Louvre catalogue. For another example of the Virgin carrying a vessel, see the west front of St Jouin-de-Marne discussed in chapter 3, part II. If it may be assumed that the vessel is

meant to contain oil, then it may be lit to become an oil lamp. This idea marries the vessel imagery to the Marian metaphors of light discussed in chapter 6, part I. Two twelfth-century Catalonian wall-paintings, one from the church of Taull, and one at San Pedro del Burgall, both now in the Museo de Arte de Cataluna in Barcelona, feature the Virgin carrying a bowl from which rays emanate. Verdier (1980) links the attribute with the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (p.82). Demus (1970), less convincingly describes Mary as carrying a dish "filled with the glowing blood of Christ."(p.479). In both cases the Virgin is seated with the apostles below a Majesty, so neither context suggests a very specific iconographic reading. The image may perhaps simply represent the Virgin carrying the oil of mercy which lit the lamp which produced the light of the world. The Majesty from Taull carries an open book inscribed *Ego sum lux mundi*.

81. For example, in commentaries by Augustine, Bede, Ambrose Autpert and Peter Lombard.(CETEDOC) The Cistercian, John of Ford, writing in the twelfth century addressed the *sponsa* of the Song of Songs as *vas misericordiae* in his sermon 74 on the Song of Songs, line 223. See John of Ford, *Sermones*, eds., E. Mikkers & H. Costello, 2 vols, CC 17 (1970) 2. In sermon 28 (vol 1) he uses the image again (line 209) in his discussion of the merciful justice and the just mercy of God.

82. Le R.P. Angelo de Santi, *Les Litanies de la Sainte Vierge*, trans., A. Boudinhon (Paris, 1900) pp 169,188, & 192-3.

83. C.G. Jung, 'The Worship of Woman and the Worship of the Soul' in *Aspects of the Feminine*, trans., R.F.C. Hull, 2nd edn. (London: Routledge, 1986) pp 5-24

84. *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript* (1892) I, p.67. The concept of mercy as being substantially liquid, and oily probably derives from commentaries on the Song of Songs. For example see an early-fourteenth-century rhythmic Marian commentary by William of Mandagot *AH* 48 p.362: *Oleum est nomen tuum/ Effusum percontinuum/ Stillicidum gratiae,/ Roridum et irriguum/ Per fluentum assiduum/ Dulcis misericordiae*. In a fifteenth-century hymn the Virgin is hailed as the *fons olei* (*AH* 52, p.61). In such a context the Marian epithet, *oliva fructifera* from Psalm 51 takes on added significance.

85. de Santi (1900) p.166.

86. For a bibliography of miracles pertaining to the *lactatio*, and especially to the miracle of St Bernard fed by the Virgin's milk see T. Koehler, 'Le vocabulaire de la "Misericordia" dans la dévotion mariale du moyen âge latin de Saint Bonaventure à

Gerson', in *De Cultu Mariano saeculis XII-XV, Acta Congressus Mariologici-Mariani* (Rome, 1980), 313-330 (p.327). Also P.V. Beterous, 'À propos d'une des légendes mariales les plus repandues: le lait de la Vierge,' *Bulletin de l'association Guillaume Bude* 4 (1975) 403-411; L. Dewez & A. van Iterson, 'La lactation de Saint Bernard. Légende et Iconographie', *Citeaux in de Nederlanden* 7 (1956) 165-189. For a miracle which links up the themes of the oil of mercy and the milk of mercy see John of Garland, *Stella Maris*, ed., E.F. Wilson (Cambridge, Mass: the Medieval Academy of America, 1946) no.7, p.106. See also p.161. In this the breasts of an image of the Virgin emit two streams of oil in order to convince a doubting Saracen of the truth of the Incarnation. Reau (2, part 2, p.123) makes reference to an early sixteenth century painting of the Virgin feeding souls in Purgatory with her milk.

87. Richard of St Victor, *Explication in Cantica Canticarum*, *PL* 196, col 475. For Denys the Carthusian see D.Turner, *Eros and Allegory: Medieval Exegesis of the Song of Songs in the High Middle Ages*, Cistercian Studies series no.156) (Kalamazoo, 1995) p.366.

88. Horst Appuhn,'Maria, Mater misericordiae', in *Die Gottesmutter: Marienbild in Rheinland und in Westfalen*, ed., L. Kuppers (Recklinghausen: Verlag Aurel Bongers, 1974) pp.215 & 226.

89. Katzenellenbogen (1964) pp 48, 49, 76 & 83.

90. *PL* 197. cols. 589-596. The vivid nature of Hildegard's description makes the text particularly appropriate for illustration. Such a copy was made in 1175 in which the pictures faithfully follow the detail of Hildegard's text. (Wiesbaden, Landesbibliothek, Cod.I.)

91. *PL* 197. cols 590D & 595D.

92. An example appears in a wall-painting dating from the late twelfth century in the church at St-Loup-sur-Cher. See Jean-Marie Berland, *Val de Loire Roman*, 3rd edn., Zodiaque 3 (1980) p.42. Two unusually early English examples appear on the eighth-century Franks casket in the scene of the Adoration of the Magi (BM, M&LA 1867, I-20, I).(See exhib. cat. *The Making of England*, eds., J. Backhouse & L. Webster (London: British Museum Press, 1991) no. 70) and on a tenth-century sculpture above the west door of St Mary's, Deerhurst, Worcs.

93. *PL* 197 col 595B-D

94. *PL* 197 cols 590D & 595B

95. *PL* 197 cols 595D & 596A

96. The Syrian, Jacob of Sarug (d.521), uses the term in his sermon, *De Transitu (Graef p.122). A series of visions experienced by the abbots of Cluny, Odo (d.942) and Maiolus (d.994) in which the Virgin appeared as the Mater Misericordiae* popularised the epithet. These visions were recorded by John of Salerno (*PL* 133, col 72) and Syrus Aldebald (*PL* 137, col 759) respectively.

97. See chapter 1, n.77. For the invocation to the *Mater Misericordiae* in a twelfth-century Marian litany see De Santi (1900) p.109.

98. H. Barré, *Prières Anciennes de l'Occident a la Mère du Sauveur* (Paris: Letheilleux, 1963) p.336. This table of Marian vocabulary indicates those prayers which include the term *Misericordissima* from the eighth to the eleventh centuries. See also chapter 1, n.46

99. See *AH* 50, p.318 for the eleventh-century antiphon by Hermannus Contractus: *Salve Regina Misericordiae.*

100. *Petr Damian, Sermones*, ed., J. Lucchesi CC 57 (1983) Second sermon for the Nativity of the Virgin, p.290, line 600.

101. *PL* 141 col.323

102. In his sermons St Bernard uses the term four times - in two sermons on the Assumption, one for the Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany, and one for Palm Sunday (CETEDOC). The relevant passage from the Palm Sunday sermon reads: *Etenim qui scandalizaverit unum de pusillis istis, illum graviter offendit, qui eos tamquam Mater Misericordiae suae gremio fovet, donec roborentur* (Leclercq & Rochais 5 (1968) p.50).

103. *In Assumptione Beatae Mariae*, Sermon I, Leclercq & Rochais 5 (1968) p.229:..*quae tamquam Iudicis mater, et mater misericordiae,...*

104. *Dominica Prima Post Octavam Epiphaniae*, Sermon 2 Leclercq & Rochais, 4 (1966) p.322. The sermon is on the Marriage at Cana, and employs an ingenious commentary on Mary asking for wine which Bernard sees as an image for Mary's general intercession. In this context the Virgin is described as *misericors et mater misericordiae.*

105. Iconographically this tendency towards a polarisation of justice and mercy occurs in such images as Mary shielding her devotees against the vengeful arrows of God. See P.Perdrizet (1908) pp 114-116. A corresponding theme in literature is exemplified in a fifteenth-century poem by John Lydgate where he asks that the Mother of Mercy

should pray to the Sun of Justice to keep England free of plague. *Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed., H.N. McCracken, *EETS* ES 107, 2 vols (1911) I, p.291

106. See the discussion of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* in chapter 3, part VII.

107. *Speculum Laicorum*, ed., J.Th. Welter (Paris: A. Picard, 1914) p.73

108. An over-lapping between the identities of the Virgin and *Misericordia* can be seen in some late medieval literature and iconography. For an example in a fifteenth-century morality play see C. Richardson & J. Johnston, *Medieval Drama* (London: Macmillan, 1991) p.102. A fifteenth-century Book of Hours from Rouen uses the scene of the weighing of the soul from the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* in which *Misericordia* takes the Marian role of interfering with the scales, as the scene which illustrates the opening of the Office for the Dead (Cherbourg, Bibliotheque Municipale, ms 5, fol. 79)

109. For example, on a fifteenth-century wall-painting in the church of St Mexme in Chinon and on a sixteenth-century Brussels tapestry now in the Louvre.

110. William Langland, *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, ed., A.V.C. Schmidt (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1978) bk 5, lines 636-651.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The Virgin's role as intercessor, mediator and purveyor of mercy in medieval understanding from the twelfth to the fifteenth century resides in her position as mother of God, the *Dei Genetrix* of the Latin world. As mother of the human Christ she enabled the cycle of redemption to begin. As the mother of the glorified Christ, she was elevated into heaven, as the doctrine of the Bodily Assumption claimed, and was there enthroned as Queen. The human mother was an essential element in the plan for the saving of humankind. As such the Virgin's motherhood of Christ may be said to represent divine mercy. Her power as intercessor also originates in the maternal relationship. Her influence over her human Son is transferred to Him glorified as the Judge at the Second Coming.

This thesis has examined the way Marian intercession and mediation were represented visually during the period, and to what extent iconography assisted or qualified an understanding of the Virgin as the source of mercy. Throughout, images have been placed in their iconographic and their literary context in order to approach an understanding of their significance for contemporaries. To give focus to the potentially wide scope of this study, English visual examples have, for the most part, been the subjects of the enquiry. This final section will summarise the conclusions reached in each chapter before presenting the general conclusions which may be offered from the thesis as a whole.

Chapter one surveyed the literary background and established that the maternal relationship was the preoccupation of Marian commentators in the West from the beginning. This preoccupation developed into panegyrics on the dynamics of maternal bonding such as touching, embracing and suckling. Such references can be found in the writings of Augustine of Hippo and Venantius Fortunatus and are particularly noted in the work of Ambrose Autpert in the eighth century. The divine maternity was seen as the prime reason for Mary's pre-eminence as intercessor. By the ninth century this role was particularly focussed on intercession to her Son, the Judge, at the point of death. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries some commentators carefully maintain the bonded nature of the maternal relationship in their analysis of the dialogue of intercession. Anselm of Canterbury achieves this sense of unity between mother and Son by commenting on their relationship. He rarely mentions one without the other in his prayers to the Virgin, and demonstrates their complementary roles in his use of mirror language. In other words, he often describes the actions of the mother as a reflection of those of the Son, and *vice-versa*. Bernard of Clairvaux, whilst making similar points concerning the integrity of Christ glorified and Mary as intercessor, nevertheless uses vivid individuating language in his description of their respective roles. Anselm and Bernard were writing against a background of a popularisation of Marian culture which was to affect the circulation and perception of Marian imagery in the later middle ages.

Iconographically the images of the Virgin being called

upon for intercession considered in chapter two reflect some of the features of Marian intercession which were referred to in chapter one. The request for intercession is normally addressed to an image of the Virgin and Child. The petition is sought from the relationship. The early medieval representation of the Virgin and Child reflects the emphasis on the relationship by visually understating the individuality of the protagonists. In later medieval iconography the two figures are individuated but their underlying integrity is maintained by emphasising iconographically the features of emotional bonding between mother and child, or by devices such as iconographic transference represented in this chapter by the blessing Virgin and the Virgin and Child treading the beasts. Focus ing on the mother/child relationship brings the suckling Virgin motif to the fore, which becomes relatively common in the West from the thirteenth century. As the most exclusive representation of maternal bonding it is a potent symbol of divine mercy. The *ostentatio* of the breast, which emerges as an image isolated from narrative scenes such as the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi in the fourteenth century, suggests the breast itself as such a symbol.

From the Virgin petitioned for intercession or protection, chapter three moves to images of the Virgin interceding. The breast motif, in a number of examples dating from the thirteenth century, is transferred into an intercessory context corroborating the significance attached to it in chapter two. The emphasis on the Virgin's relationship with the glorified Christ is enriched by the iconography of the Coronation of the Virgin which frequently

appears in conjunction with the Last Judgement in which she intercedes. This chapter also explores the link made between Incarnation, Passion and Judgement in intercessory types. It is demonstrated that, in western iconography, the emergence of the Virgin as intercessor develops in tandem with visual references in judgement imagery to the Passion, such as the appearance of the Instruments of the Passion. The western *Deesis* appearing from the twelfth century, in which the Judge is flanked by John the Apostle and the Virgin, echoes the rood group. From the fourteenth century Christ and Mary sometimes appear flanking the Judge. The Virgin exposes her breast, and Christ the wound in His side in a gesture which mirrors that of Mary. In such an image symbols of Christ's human nature - His birth and His death - provide the merciful complement in the iconography of judgement. There is however an awkwardness in representing Christ both as judge and intercessor which creates a visual splitting of the Trinity. This is avoided when the Virgin alone, or in the company of another saint, intercedes to the Judge. On the other hand, the Virgin alone as intercessor may have encouraged a tendency to equate the Virgin with mercy and Christ with judgement when the two attributes of the Divine were represented together. The tendency is exemplified in the metaphor of the heavenly courts of Justice and Mercy over which Christ and the Virgin respectively preside. A final type of intercessory group in which references to Incarnation, Passion and Judgement are relatively understated appears in the *Lily of Mercy and Sword of Justice* type which appears from the fourteenth century. Here the Virgin simply intercedes to the right of the Judge.

The symbols of mercy and justice appear in the Judge's mouth as a lily which issues from the right side and a sword which issues from the left. Swords appear in the Judge's mouth in the Book of Revelation and, by the late miidle ages, the lily was strongly associated with the iconography of Incarnation and with that of the Passion.

The Virgin as merciful protector in her role as mother of God and pre-eminent intercessor is an underlying theme of chapters two and three. In chapters four and five iconographic motifs which explicitly show her protecting humankind are analysed. In both cases the central motifs - the protective garment and the scales of justice - are shown to be rooted in ancient and universal metaphors. Protective wings or the protective shield appear in Old Testament literature, especially the Psalms, to represent divine mercy. Scales appear in the books of Job and Daniel to represent divine justice. The Marian versions of these types - the Virgin of Mercy and the Marian Psychostasis - are both motifs of intervention. Mercy is shown to intervene in the process of Justice through the interference with the scales and the interception of the protective garment. As the metaphor becomes translated into narrative in literature, so the significance of the iconography has to be re-addressed according to its context and its date. Three English images of the Virgin of Mercy dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries illustrate the shift from a generalised to a specific image related to a contemporary narrative, and from an exegetical image which aims to explain the operation of divine justice and mercy to one which recommends a way of

reaping the rewards of divine mercy. The more didactic late medieval types of the Virgin of Mercy and the Marian Psychostasis demonstrate these images as linking specific devotions such as the rosary, the Lady Psalter and the Primer with the operation of mercy.

Another type of intervention on the part of the Virgin is explored in chapter six where the iconography in which the Virgin thwarts and triumphs over the power of evil is explored. Images of the Virgin crushing the serpent beneath her feet and triumphing over Eve, deriving from early commentaries on the Book of Genesis, return again to the Incarnation as the event which brought about the conquest of evil. The universal metaphor of light overcomimg darkness as a way of describing the impact of the Incarnation on the fortunes of humankind explains Marian epithets in which she heralds the coming of light or is described as a light-bearer. The notion lies behind a group of late medieval chandaliers, the iconography of which centres on the Virgin. Her powers to protect humankind from evil are exemplified in the twelfth-century prefatory picture to the *Civitate Dei* from Canterbury and a group of images illustrating her debacle with the devil in the miracle story of Theophilus. In both cases the iconography is shown to integrate the Virgin's role in a universal salvational scheme. In the *Civitate Dei* image the ambiguity of the iconography links the Virgin with the Apocalyptic Woman of Revelation 12 and the just and merciful governance of the divine city described by Augustine. The confrontation with the devil in the Theophilus story is represented as a type in certain thirteenth-century visual

examples illustrating the Virgin's power to rescue the damned. A deliberate mirroring of the conventional iconography of the Harrowing of Hell connects Mary's confrontation with the devil with that of Christ on Easter Saturday. The ongoing nature of redemption is so represented in the Virgin's actions.

The iconography and related literature studied in chapters two to six shows how, throughout the period under consideration, the Virgin represents divine mercy in the justice/mercy dynamic which characterised the christian scheme of salvation. In the last chapter the allegorical figure of *Misericordia* is studied to discern any connections between the Virgin and this representation of the personification of mercy. The iconography of the Psalm 85 virtues originating in twelfth century exegesis locates the reconciliation of the virtues in the event of the Incarnation, usually visually represented by the Annunciation, and describes *Misericordia* and *Pax* as the instigators of the event. The Psalm 85 virtues also appear with images of the Coronation of Ecclesia or of the Virgin. The Virgin celebrated as the mother of the human Christ in the scene of the Annunciation and as the mother, *sponsa*, and queen of the glorified Christ in the scene of the Coronation is a catalyst of the reconciliation of justice and mercy, and a symbol of the merciful aspect of the diad. The attributes of *Misericordia* - the palm and the vase - are explored in their relationship to Marian iconography. The significance of the vase as a container motif, and the perception of mercy being substantially liquid are associated with the notion of the milk of mercy developed by late medieval commentators. The image of Christ as an attribute of

Misericordia and of the Virgin is considered with particular reference to Hildegard of Bingen's description of *Misericordia* in the *Liber Scivias*.

CONCLUSION

Four general conclusions emerge, of which the first is concerned with iconographic content and the second with interpretation.

The thesis calls into question the accuracy of the description 'Marian' when applied to iconography concerned with intercession and divine mercy. Whilst convenient, such a categorisation may distance the modern observer from the perceptions of the society for whom the images were made. Dom Jean Leclercq in an essay on Bernard of Clairvaux and medieval Marian devotion said that Bernard did not consider Christ and the Virgin separately (1). The iconography which has been studied seemed to have been shaped by considerations of the dialectic of her relationship with Christ. Images of Christ and the Virgin reach their full significance read in the light of each other. For her part, the Virgin may be represented as the container of Christ, bonded to Him as His mother, enthroned with Him as His spouse and queen, and in dialogue with Him in the debate about mercy and justice. She is a mirror of Christ's humanity not only in scenes relating to His birth but also from the twelfth century in those relating to His death. The nexus of relationships is intensified in iconography which links in one image the events of the Incarnation, Passion, Coronation and Last Judgement.

So, the Western *Deesis* mirrors the Crucifixion, and the Judge with the Lily and the Sword is redolent of Incarnation and Passion. The same principle can be seen at work in many images which lie beyond the scope of this thesis such as the Virgin of Pity cradling her dead Son echoing the iconography of the Virgin and Child(2). There is the mirroring too between the two Byzantine groups of the Virgin *Hodegetria* and the figure of Christ carrying the baby soul of the Virgin in the scene of the Dormition. Here Christ's human nativity mirrors the Virgin's glorified one. As a whole the subject of the thesis has not been the representation of events in history, but the iconography of a divine mechanism which communicates by focus ing on the dynamic interaction of events and people, and not on the resources of an individual considered in isolation.

The development of the iconography of the Virgin as a figure of divine mercy throughout the period is a function of the development of the literature which inspires it. It has been shown that, generally speaking, there is a shift from the prayer and sermon literature which appears to lie behind the images of the romanesque period to the narratives of visions, *exempla* and miracle stories which become more important as a source for image makers producing work for very different social groups in the later period. The intellectual roots of this development in twelfth-century theological circles have been notedin Marie-Louise Therel's iconographic study of the Coronation of the Virgin (3). This thesis has attempted to distinguish between the interpretation of iconography based on metaphor and that based on narrative, and to establish that the former may be interpreted in a number of interlocking

ways, but that the latter carries with it a narrower reference. It certainly partly accounts for a post-Reformation view of the late medieval period as given to excessive devotion to the Virgin (4). The move towards a more precise definition of words and images led to the Virgin's integrated role in medieval devotion being individuated and consequently narrowed. An example of this shift in understanding is attached in the dialogue reproduced in Appendix III dating from the sixteenth century in which the Anglican Bishop, John Jewel debates with the Roman Catholic Master Harding about the nature of Marian intercession. He claims that the invocation "Save us" applied to the Virgin puts her in the position of Saviour. Harding argues that that the phrase means "Pray for us to God, that we may be saved". Jewel sees the Virgin addressed in isolation. Harding sees her as an integral part of a larger scheme. The two are not speaking the same language.

The focus on English iconography complements the extensive work on continental Marian iconography which has been carried out and which is referred to in the introduction. It demonstrates, particularly in chapters four and five, a strong emphasis on the Virgin as referee for the active participation of the devout in what is described in the thesis as 'the merciful contract'. She is shown as the protector of those who play their part, whilst Christ condemns those who do not. In the Stedham wall-painting, for instance, the Virgin protects those who pray whilst her Son condemns the sabbath-breakers. In western iconography generally the representation of the petitioner for mercy as the donor of the work in which

he or she is depicted is a widespread motif illustrating a similar point. However, the ubiquity of references to specific devotions in judgement imagery represented under the Virgin's sponsorship, *is* particularly marked in English iconography of the late medieval period.

The contribution of Marian writing to the proliferation of the Marian motifs under consideration has been noted, especially in Cistercian and Dominican work. The vividly written and widely circulated Marian sermons of Bernard of Clairvaux provide the literary models for the Virgin and Christ interceding to the Judge and the drama of the virtues of Psalm 85. Guillaume de Déguileville's fourteenth-century *Pèlerinage de l'âme* was a major source of the Marian Psychostasis. The image of the Virgin of Mercy first appears in Northern European art in a Cistercian milieu. The circulation of the concept of the 'milk of mercy' is linked with the miracle account of Bernard nourished with the Virgin's milk. Before founding her own order, Bridget of Sweden wrote down her visions whilst residing in a Cistercian nunnery. Other Cistercians, or those closely connected with Cistercian spirituality, such as Adam of Perseigne, Herman of Runa, Arnold of Bonneval and Amadeus of Lausanne, enriched the Marian mindset, even if their work was not so widely influential. The Dominican *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* and the exempla of Johannes Hérolt and Alain de la Roche stimulated the circulation of the iconography of the Virgin of Mercy, the Marian Psychostasis and the concept of the courts of justice and mercy. A third influential group may be added to these - the Victorines, Hugh, Richard and Adam. Their

contributions to Mariology may not have been so directly influential, with the exception of the prolific lyrics of Adam of St Victor, but nevertheless made use of metaphors which came to be realised visually in Marian iconography(5).

This dissertation has posited the thesis that the iconography of the Virgin as intercessor, mediator and purveyor of mercy in the period from the twelfth to the fifteenth century represented part of a wider scheme from which her role could not be detached. How this was communicated visually has been analysed and, as such, is offered as a contribution to modern scholarship of iconographic intepretation. The contemporary perception of her complementary role in the scheme of salvation has been the subject of the last three hundred pages. This twelfth-century English commentator sums up the main point in a few lines:

> Nam quia ipsa genuit eum per quem mortua reviviscunt, per quem homines ex peccato salvantur, quia non est iustificatio nisi quam ipsa in utero fovit; non est salus, nisi quam ipsa peperit (6).

APPENDIX 3

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Ye say, there is "one only Mediator of salvation," but there are many "mediators of intercession." And thus with this pretty simple distinction ye convey yourself away invisibly[9] in a cloud. But, to cut off quarrels, M. Harding, let us have that one only Mediator of salvation; and then afterward take to you your other mediators of intercession at your pleasure. Mediator of Intercession.

Howbeit, if Christ only be the Mediator of salvation, wherefore then do you thus call upon the blessed virgin, Christ's mother, *Salva omnes qui te glorificant*[10]? "Save thou all them that glorify thee?" Here you[11] intrude upon Christ's office, and make the holy virgin a mediator, not only of intercession, as you say[12], but also of salvation.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "A wrangler will never lack words, &c. When we say to the virgin, 'Save us,' we mean thus, Pray for us to God, that we may be saved." *The answer.* It appeareth well by you, M. Harding, that a wrangler will never lack shift of words. To desire salvation of any creature, and that for glorifying and praising of the same, it is nothing else but vain and childish blasphemy. We can desire no more of God himself. And yet by wrangling words it must be holpen. When ye say to the blessed virgin, "Save us," your meaning is this, as you say, "Pray for us to God, that we may be saved." Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 350. a. [Detect.]

First we tell you, as St Paul hath taught us: "There is one Mediator between God and man, Christ Jesus being man." Hereunto ye[13] make answer: "There are two mediators; the one of salvation, which only is Christ; the other of intercession or prayer, which (you say) may belong to the saints of God." Here I reply, and shew you by your own prayers, and by the practice of your church of Rome, that, contrary to your own distinction, you desire salvation of our lady, and so make her a mediator, not only of prayer, but also of salvation. Unto this you answer, that by these words, "Save us," ye mean nothing else but "Pray for us." Thus you can shift praying into saving, and saving again into praying, at your pleasure. All this notwithstanding, we must think you deal plainly, and want words, and are no wrangler. 1 Tim. ii. Mediator.

But, if you crave nothing of our lady but only her prayer, what shall we then do with *meritis et precibus suæ piæ matris?* Here are not only prayers, but also merits. Must we think that merit and prayer in your divinity is all one thing? What shall we do with these words, that were wont to ring in all your churches, *Monstra te esse matrem*[10]? "Shew thyself to be the mother, and let him know it?" That is to say, Commaud him: he is thy Son.

Howbeit, perhaps[14] you will likewise turn commandment into prayer; and thus, when you list, salvation is prayer, merit is prayer, and commandment is prayer. So easily an ill thing may be smoothed. And all this can you defend and save upright without wrangling. ☞

Wherefore say ye thus of Thomas Becket, of whose sainthood, for ought that I know, ye may well stand in doubt, *Tu per Thomæ sanguinem, quem pro te impendit, fac nos, Christe, scandere quo Thomas ascendit*[15]? "O Christ, make us to ascend unto heaven, whither Thomas is ascended, even by the blood of Thomas that he shed for thy sake?" Here you seek, not only intercession, but also salvation in the blood of Thomas. Tu per Thomæ.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "This is an objection for a cobbler, as the other was, and not for a divine, whose duty it were to depend of things, and not of words, &c. Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 350. b. 350. a. [Detect.]

ENDNOTES

1. J. Leclercq, 'St Bernard et la Devotion Medievale envers Marie', *Revue d'Ascetique et de Mystique*, 30 (1954) 361-375 (p.374).

2. A variation of a form of mirroring which relies on an appreciation of this iconographic device for the full impact of the image as a whole appears on the panels of a small diptych attributed to the early-fifteenth-century artist, Robert Campin, now divided between the National Gallery, London, and the Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg. On one side the Virgin is seated cradling her infant Son. On the opposite side God the Father enthroned supports His dead Son. Numerous reverberations are set up by this pairing: the human mother of the living Son mirrors the divine father of the dead Son; the Incarnation mirrors the Passion; the onset of human existence mirrors the onset of glorification. For a similar comparison beween two separate panels see E. Panofsky, 'Imago Pietatis', in *Festschrift F.M.J. Friedlander zum 60 Gerburgstag*, (Leipzig, 1927) 261-308 (p.275).

3. M-L Thèrel applies this point to her analysis of the West facade of Senlis which dates from c.1160. In this case she talks of an historical, literal treatment of biblical subjects as opposed to an allegorical one, and gives Senlis as a transitional example between these two phases. She cites the influence of Hugh of St Victor's re-affirmation of the importance of *historia* over allegory in biblical exegesis. M-L Thèrel, *A l'origine du décor du portail occidental de Notre-Dame de Senlis: le triomphe de la Vierge-Eglise. Sources historiques, littéraires et iconographiques* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la Recherche Scientifique, 1984) pp.294-299.

4. Laurentin refers to the decadence of the period in his discussion of the fifteenth-century mariologist, Bernardine of Busti (quoted by Graef, pp.320-321) Simon Tugwell is concerned about the tendency to understand the Virgin and Christ on too human a level in a discussion of late medieva English piety. He describes the carol, *Owt of your slepe*, referred to in chapter 6, as "little more than a lark". (S. Tugwell, *Ways of Imperfection* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1984) pp 152-165). In the Reformation period, Luther, who otherwise admired Bernard of Clairvaux, perceived him a given to excessive devotion to Mary. See A. H. Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux: Between Cult and History* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996) p.174

5. Graef (p.253) proposes that the Victorines "contributed very little to our subject". However, Hugh (d.1141) anticipated Bernard of Clairvaux in his allegory of the Four Daughters of God and Richard (d.1173) was an early exponent of the 'breasts of mercy' image and follows Bernar

of Clairvaux in his descriptive language of the Virgin as the Woman of Revelation 12 (PL 196, cols 517-518).

6. William of Malmesbury, *De IV Virtutibus B. Mariae*, *PL* 159, col 586.

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fig 2

fig 93

fig 4


HOC EVANGELII VDEVOTAM TE LIBELLVM
VIRGINITATIS AMORPSTA
ORNATVS TANTI VESTITVS PONTIFICALIS

fig 5


HOC SERMONE DMI DON
OFFERT XPE TIBI SEA EO TVE GENETRIX
PORTA PARADISI PRIMEVE
SAPIENTIAE VAMI
VIRGO GENETRIX GABRIHELIS EREDVLABETIS


HOC OPVS EXIMIVM
BERNVARDI
PSALLIS ARTE
FACTVS GERNEDS
MATER ET AMA

fig 6


O ſeruꝰ oſcula Lædentis labus impreſſa. cū
inter crebra iudicia reprimis inſ
impare uerꝰ gr te filiꝰ uiri ſtudeat
uerius gr patre dī genitꝰ impar
IRECTOATHIAS

fig 7

fig 8

fig 9


Subsequentes exclamationes sunt
cum medicinas. Omnia med
Ego rogero pia cum natto ubigo mariam
tas: quasi aurora consurgens
nebule: ora est mage maria

fig 10

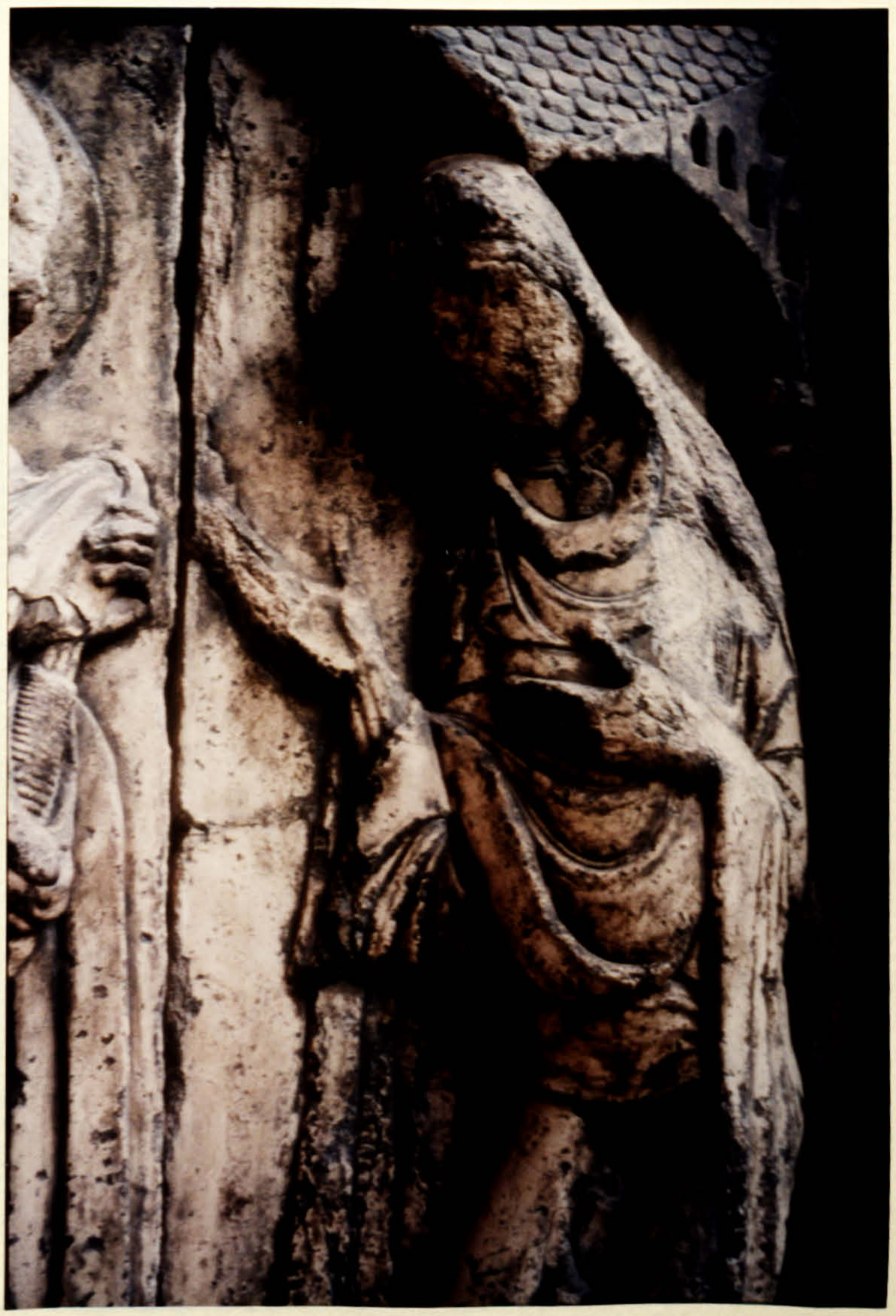


fig 11

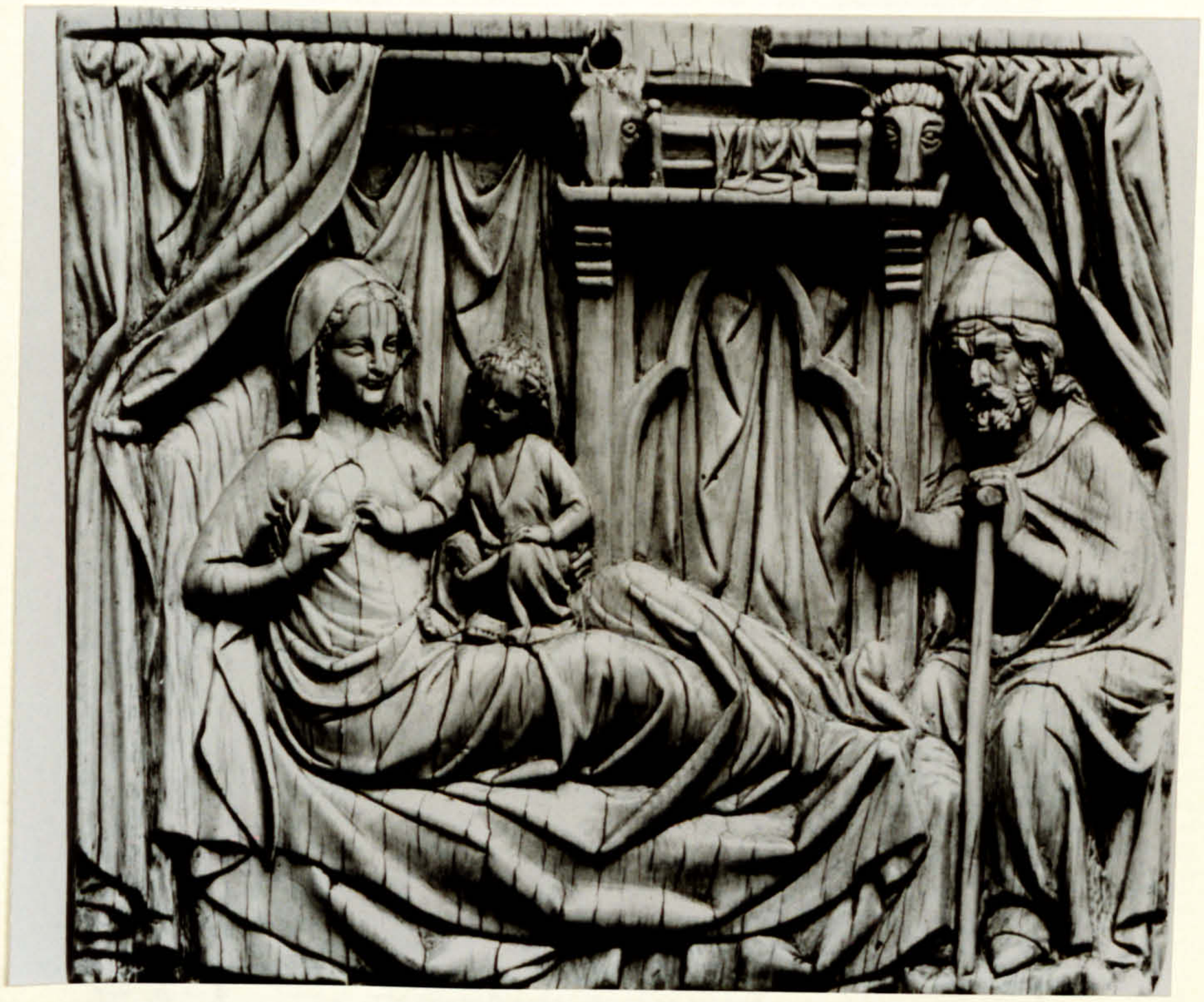


fig 12

fig 13

fig 14

fig 15


Ecce ancilla domini fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum
Ave gratia plena dominus tecum benedicta tu in mulieribus
Et verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis
Quia respexit humilitatem ancille sue ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes
Fecit mihi magna qui potens est et sanctum nomen eius
Et misericordia eius a progenie in progenies timentibus eum
Fecit potentiam in brachio suo dispersit superbos mente cordis sui
Deposuit potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles
Esurientes implevit bonis et divites dimisit inanes
Suscepit israel puerum suum recordatus misericordie sue
Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros abraham et semini eius in secula

fig 16

fig 17

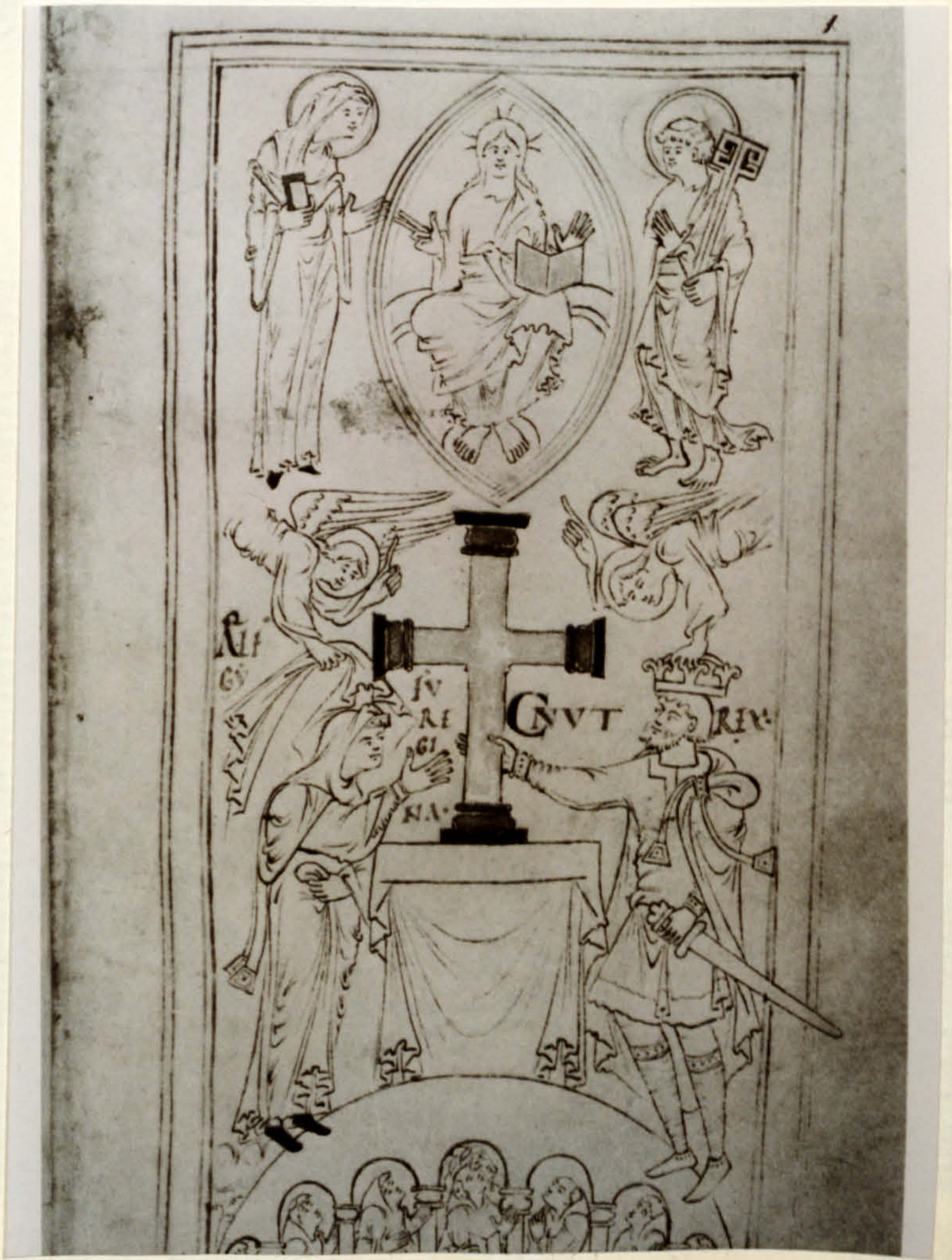


fig 18

fig 19

fig 20

fig 21

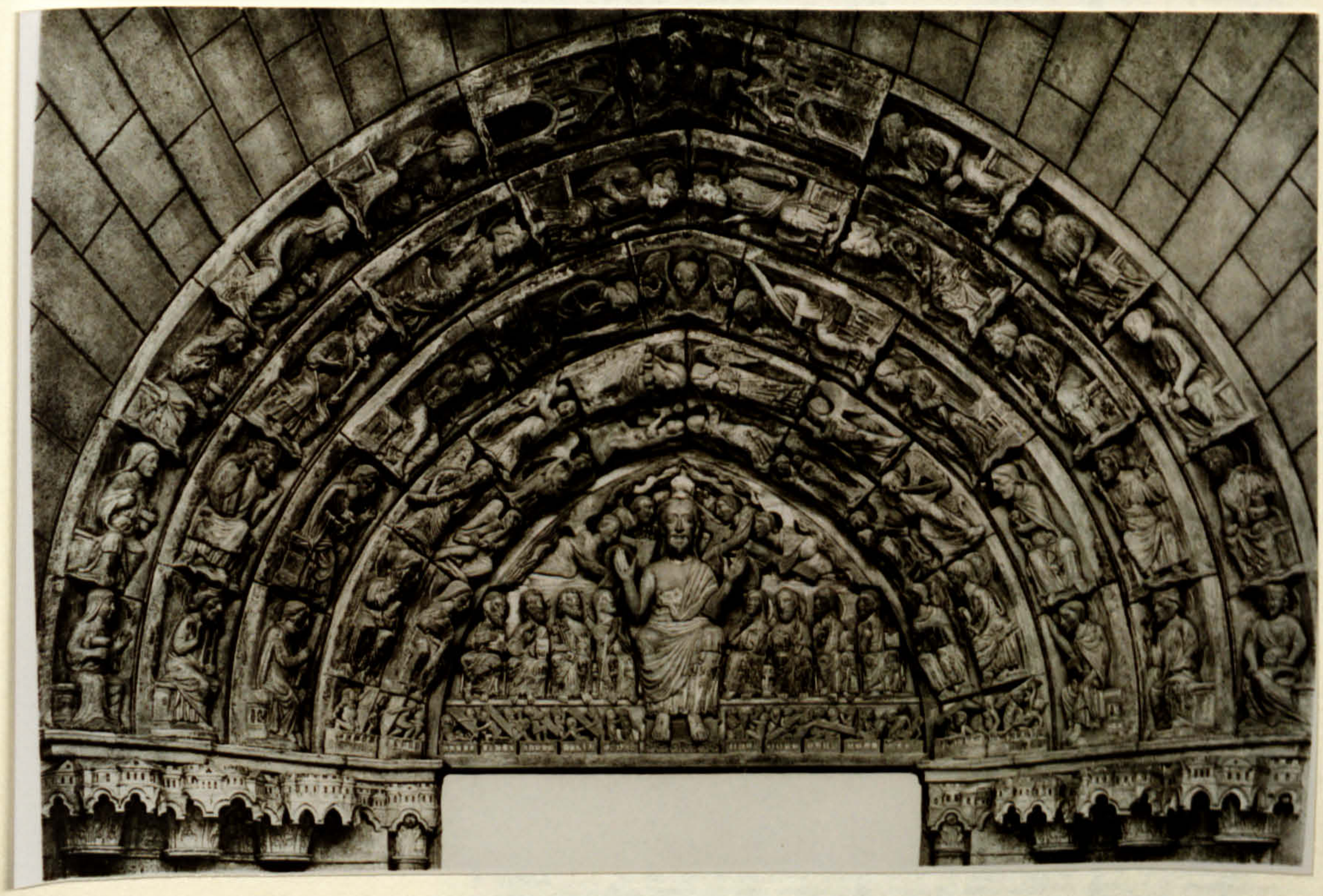


fig 22

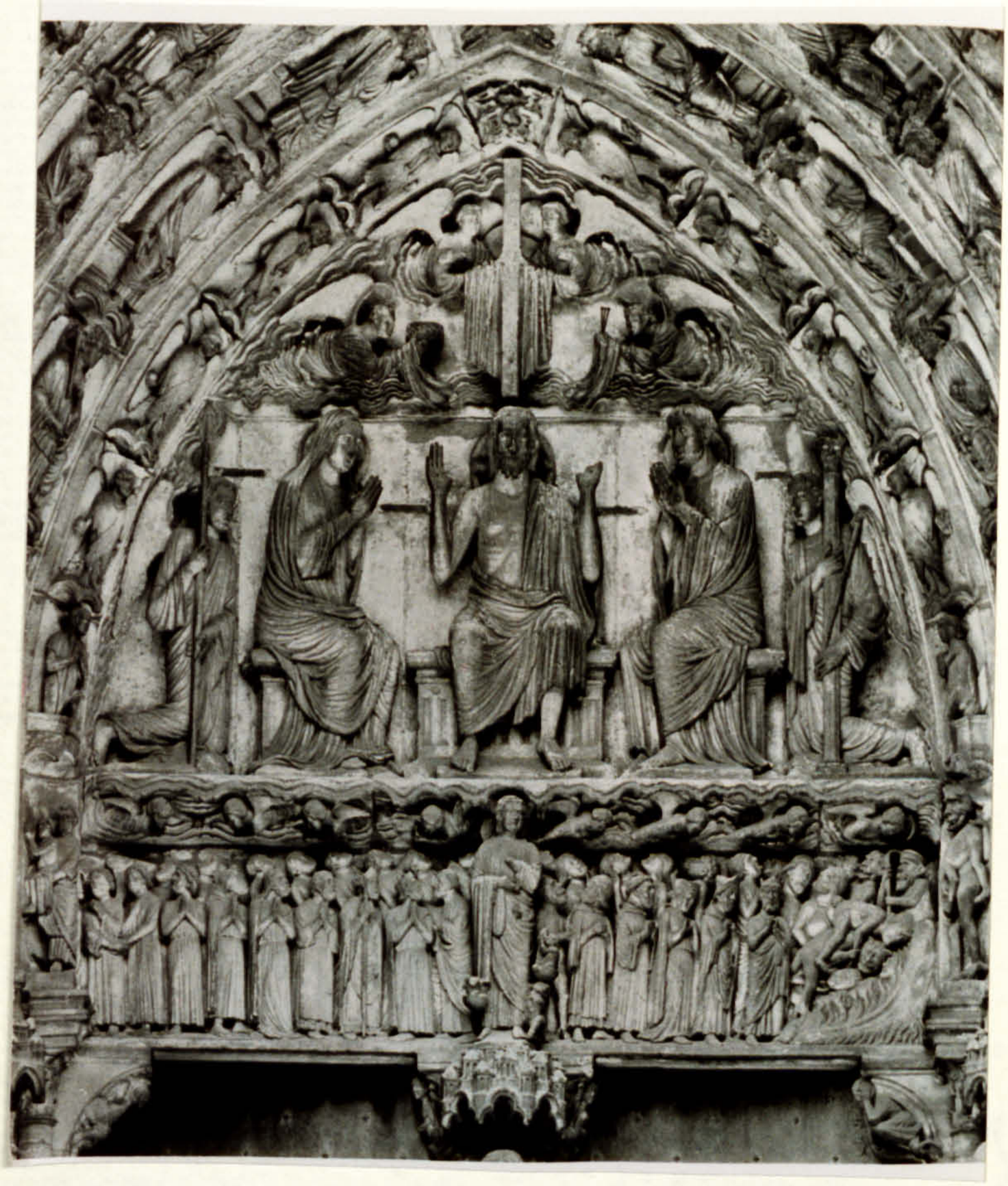


fig 23

fig 24

fig 25

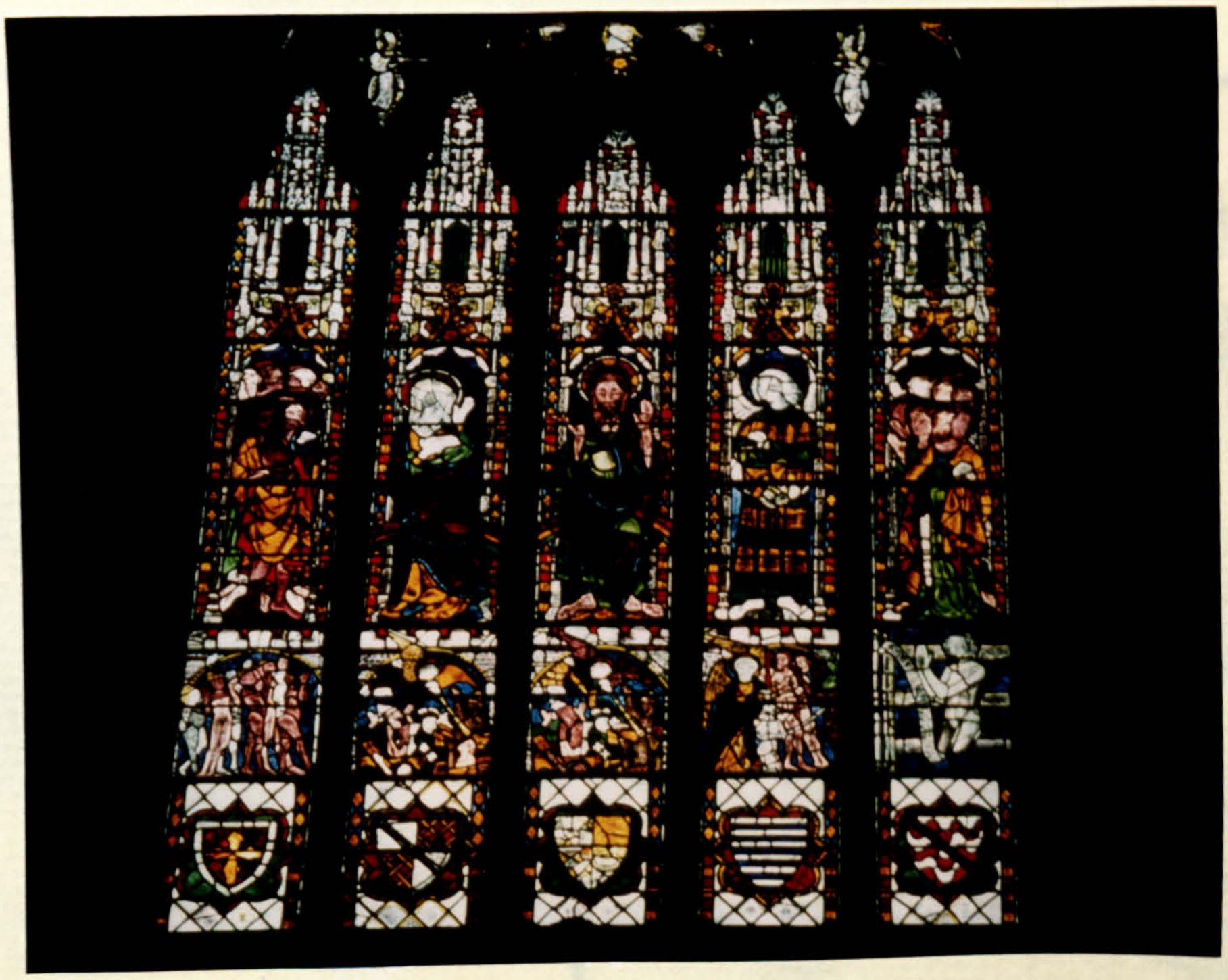


fig 26

fig 27

fig 28

fig 29

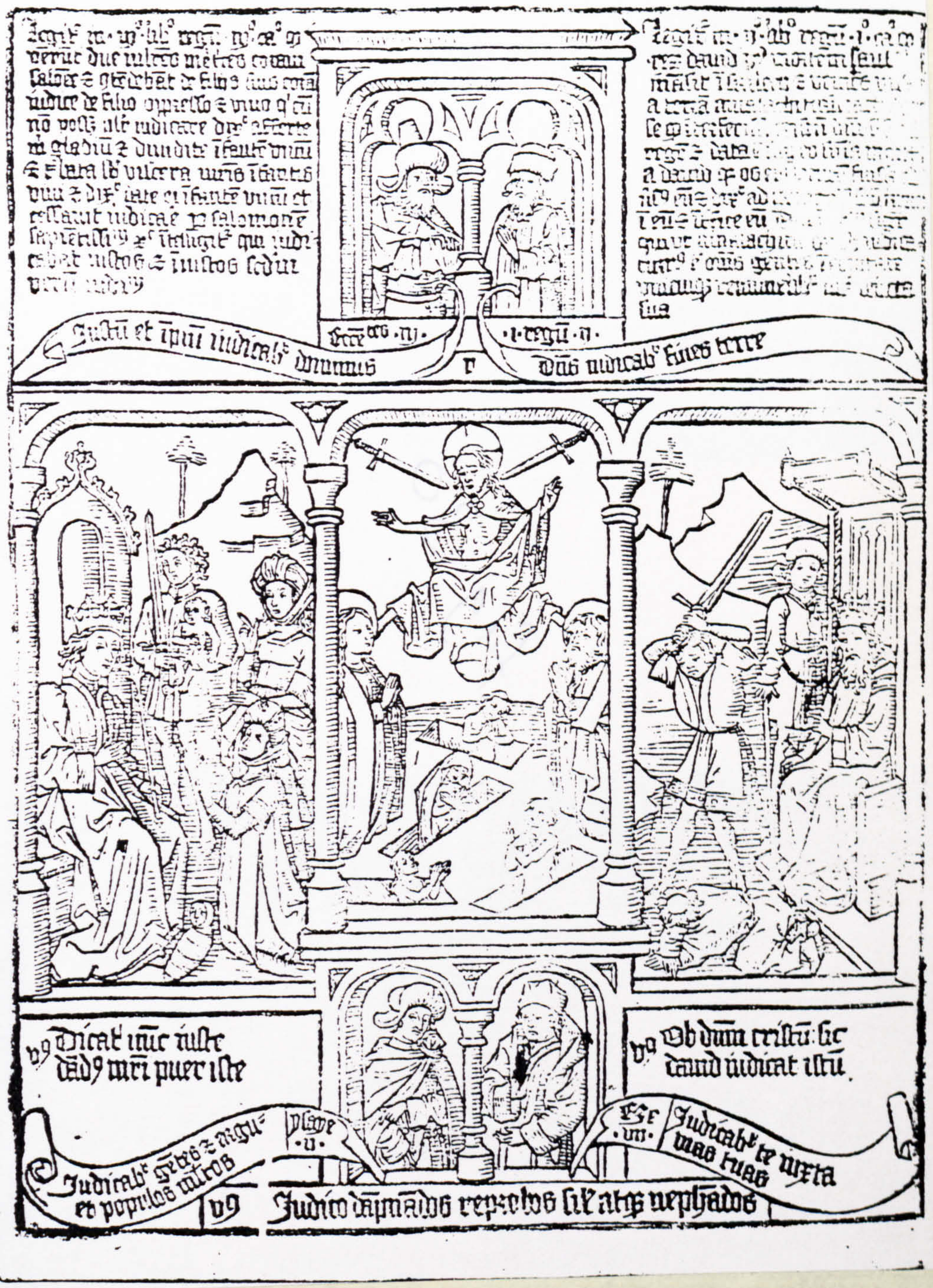

Judicabit gentes et populos multos
Judicabit te vita tua
Judicabit orbem terre in equitate
Judicabit populos in iustitia sua

fig 31

fig 32

fig 33

fig 34


SIS
SOJĀ:
TAIE:
OI: SIVE: IN: HOC: TEPORV:
cursu cum inter impios peregrinatur exhilo
uiuens· siue in illa habitatione sedis accepte quam
nunc expectat p̄ penitentiā quo adusq; tuba

fig 35

fig 36

fig 37

fig 38

fig 39

fig 40

fig 41

fig 42

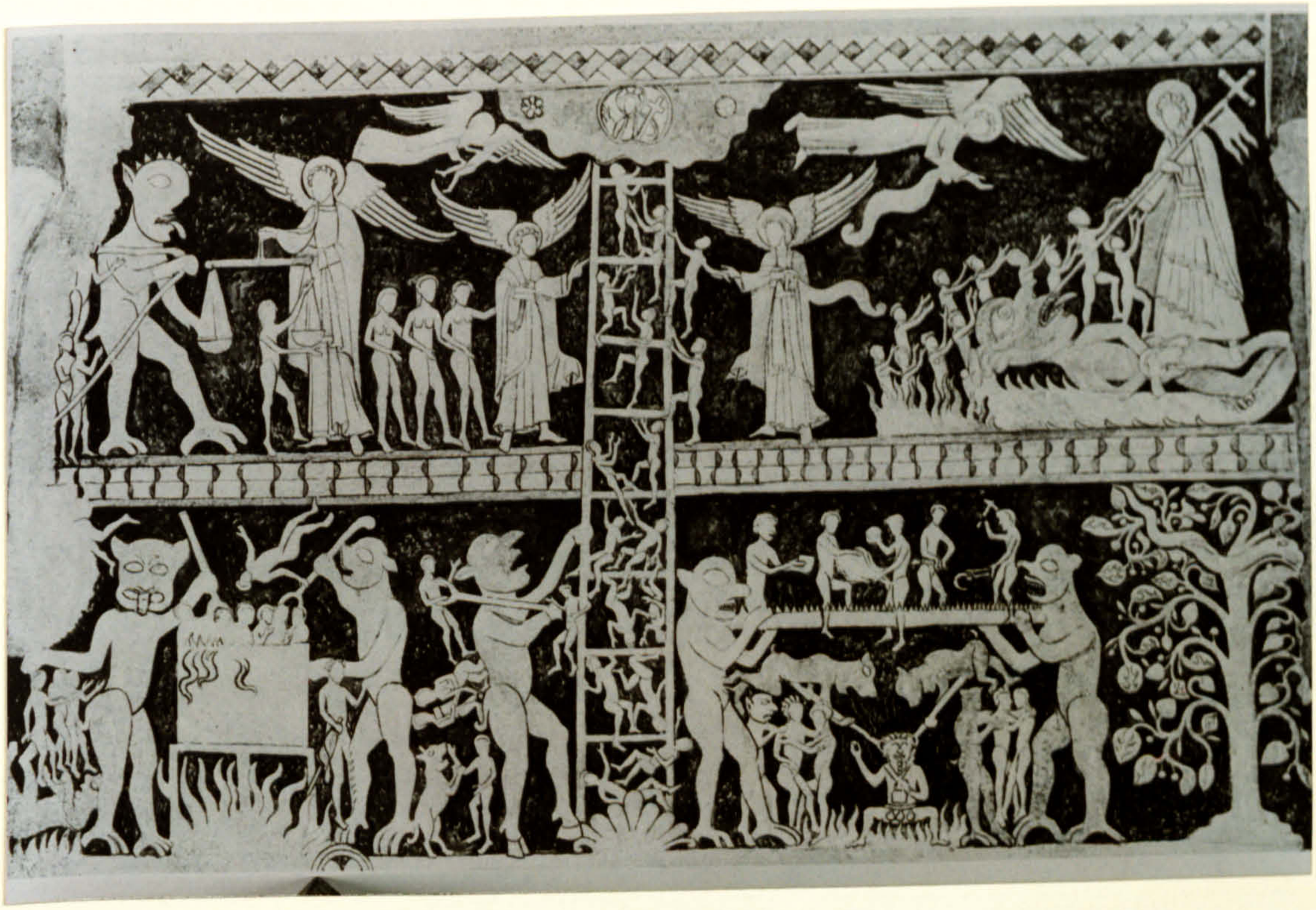


fig 43

fig 44

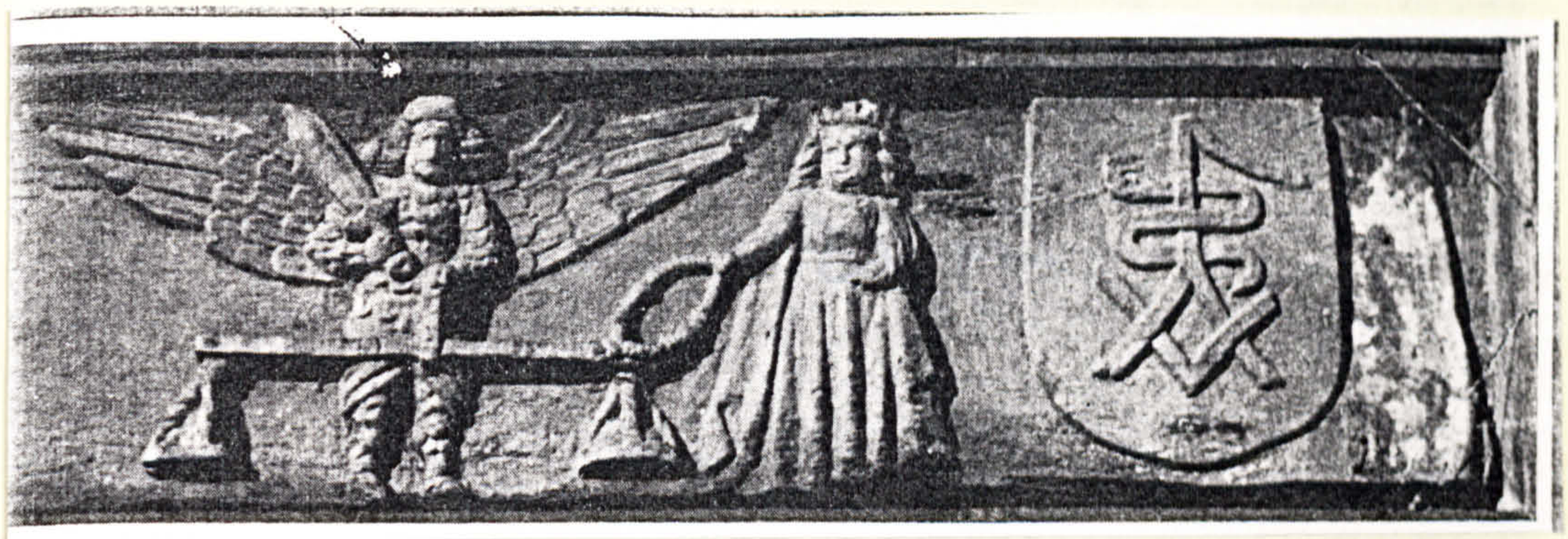


fig 45

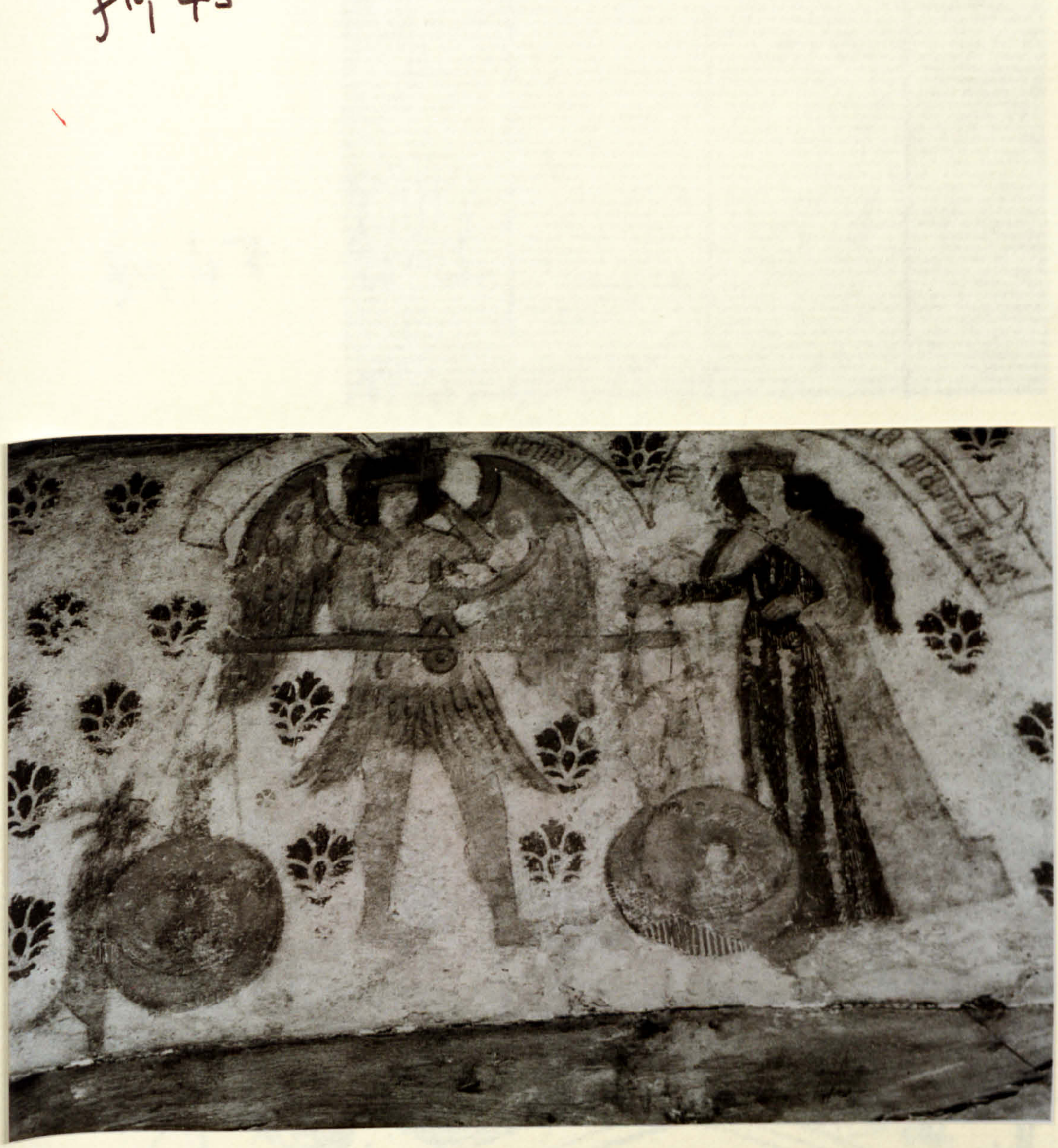


fig 46

fig 47

fig 48

fig 49

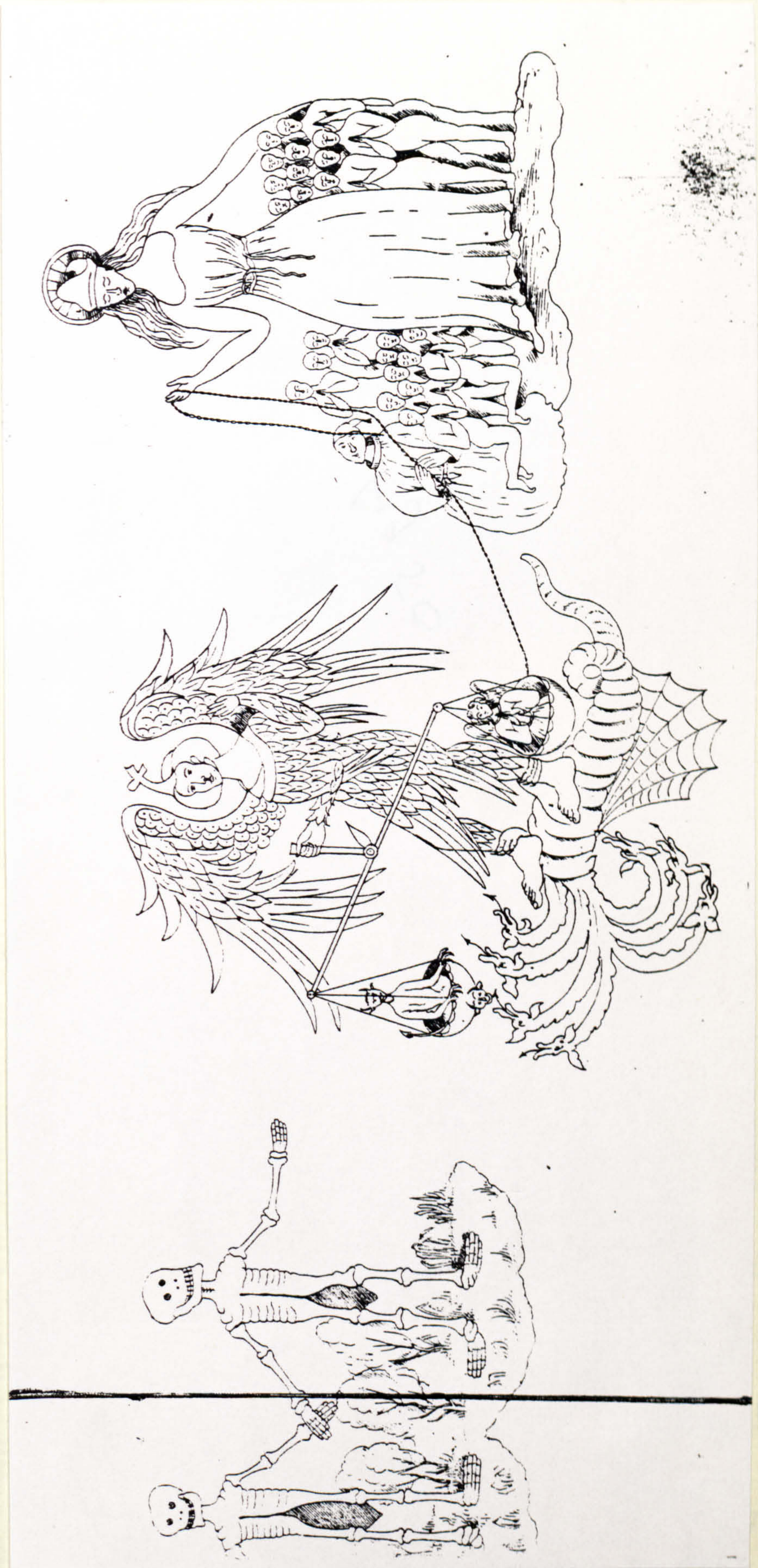
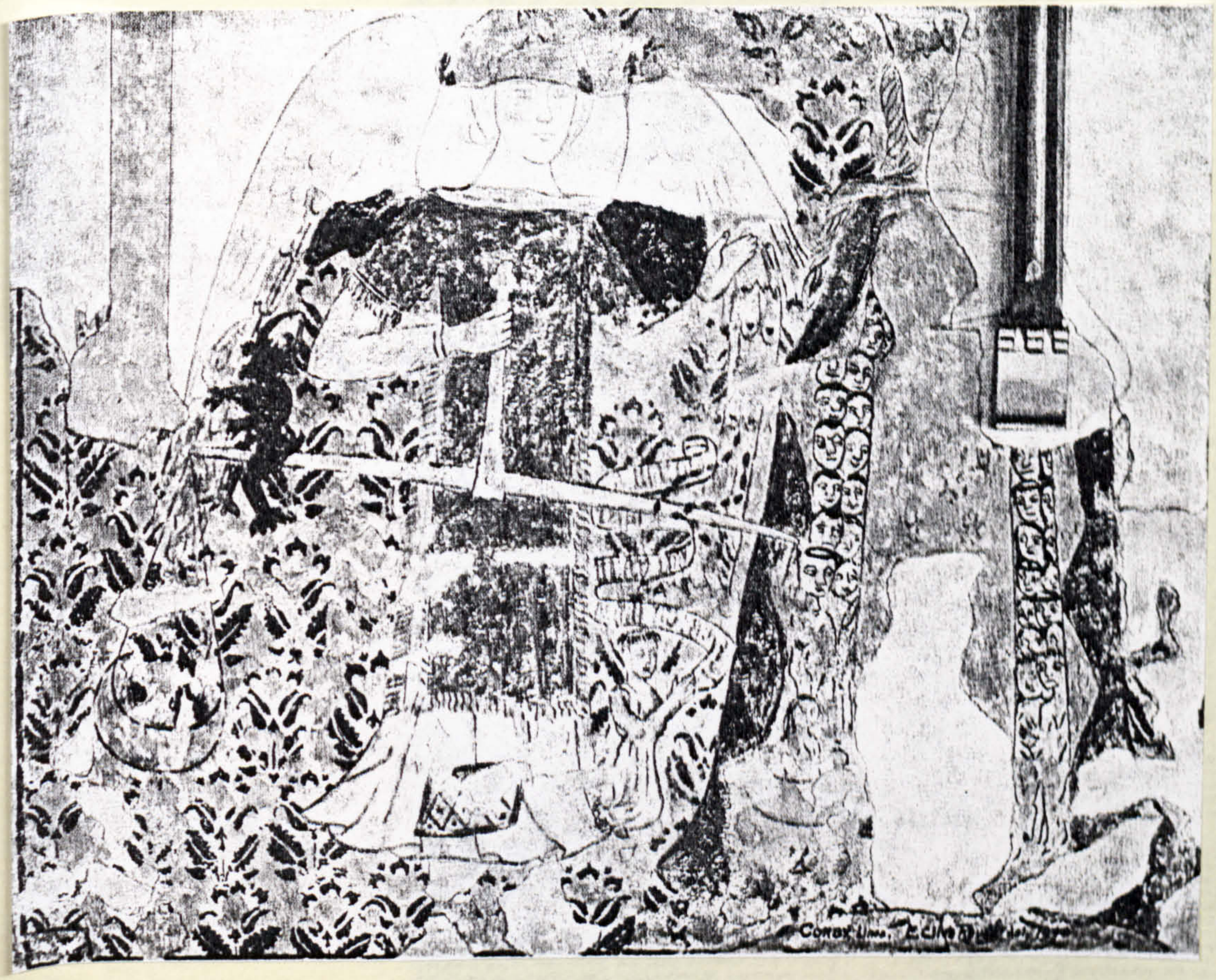


fig 50

fig 51



52

fig 53

fig 54

fig 55

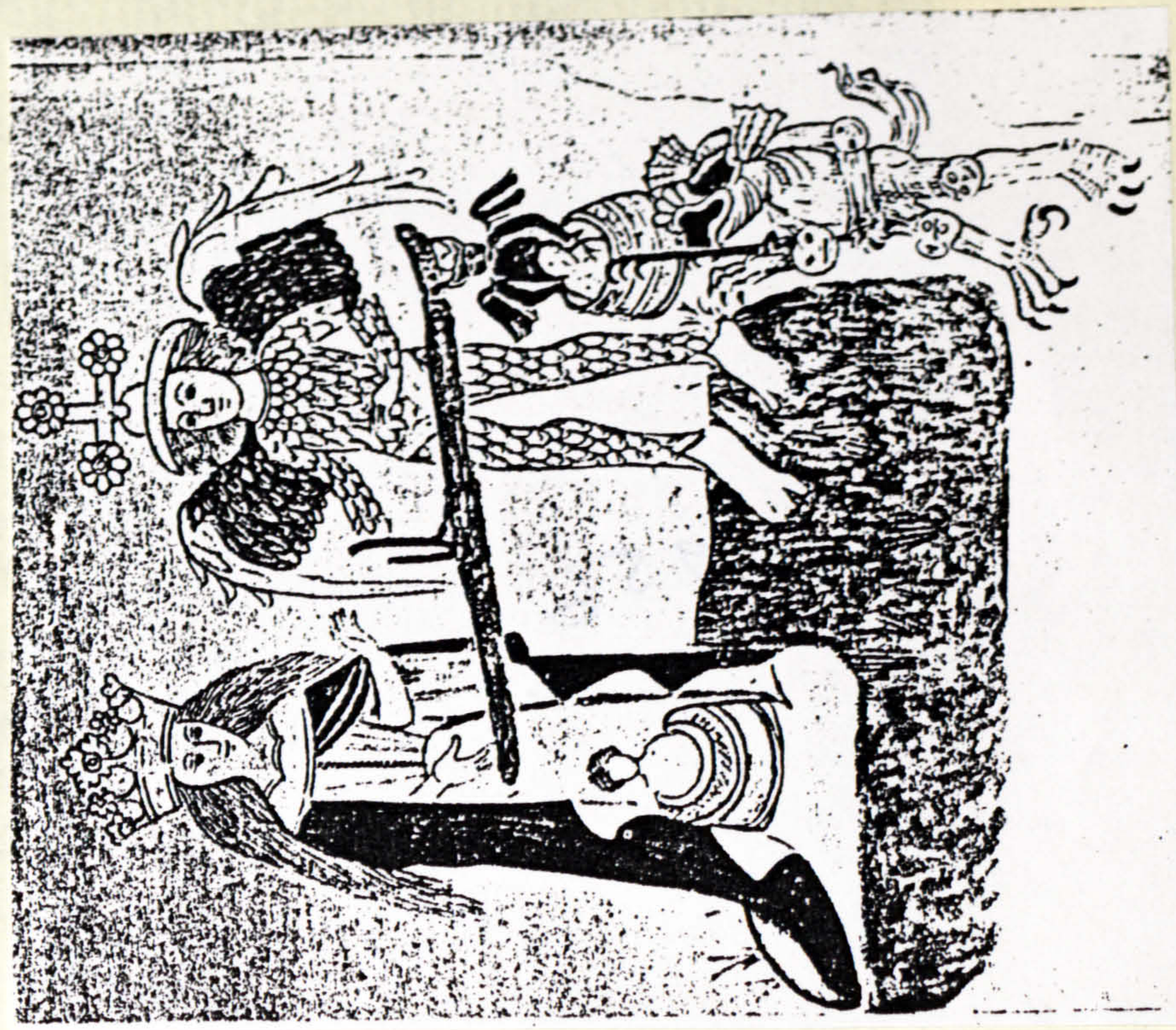


fig 56

fig 57

fig 58

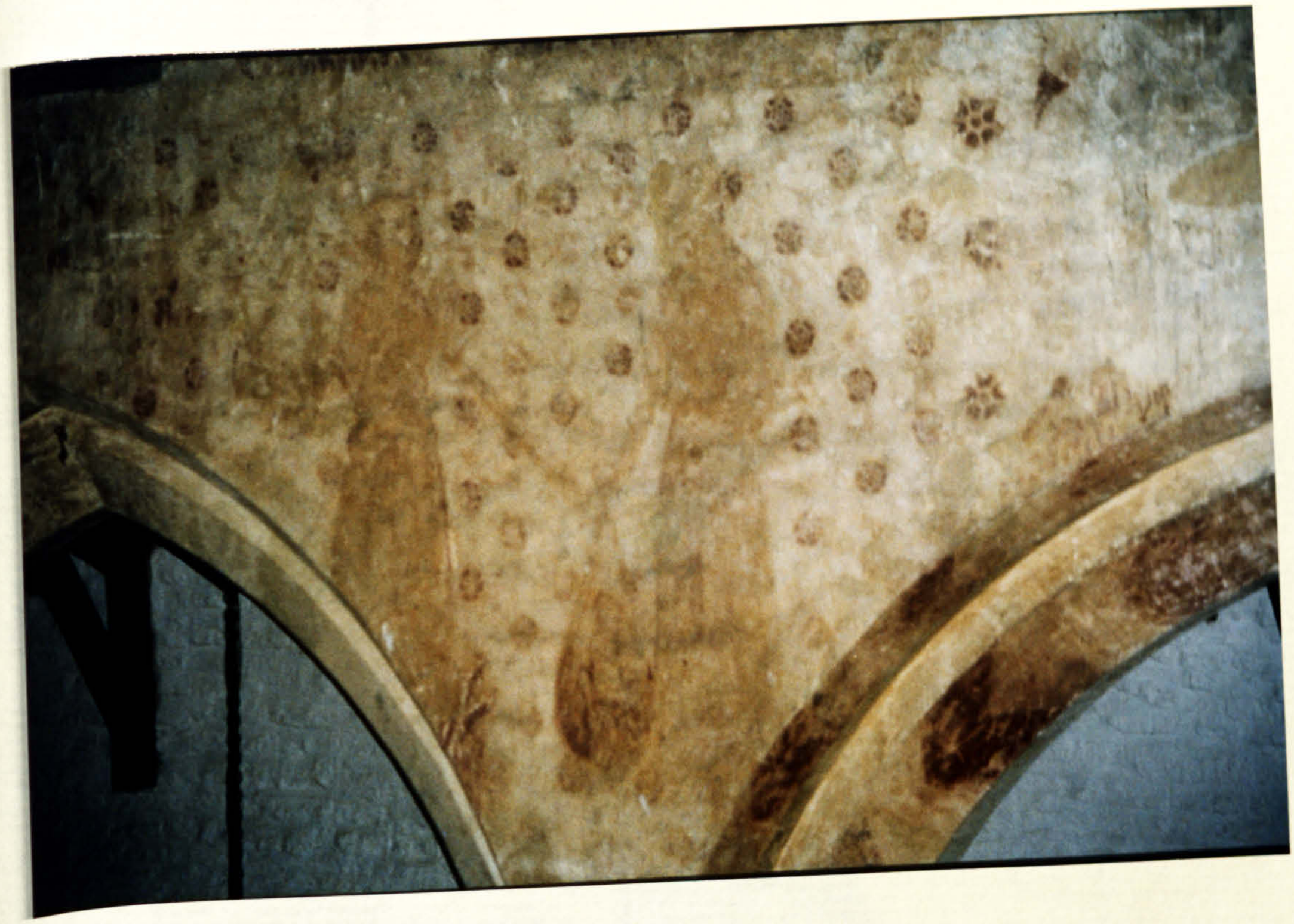


fig 59

fig 60

fig 61

fig 62

fig 63

fig 65

fig 65

fig 67

fig 68

fig 69

fig 70

fig 71

fig 72

fig 73

fig 74

fig 75

fig 76

fig 77

fig 78